

# MANUAL



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Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a manuscript page. The text is written on aged, stained paper. The handwriting is dense and fills most of the page. There are some marginalia on the left side, including the word "all" and "Lino". On the right side, there is a vertical label "Harleian MS. 7368" and a date "14th Decr 1906". The text appears to be a letter or a short treatise, possibly related to the title "THE BOOKE OF SIR THOMAS MORE" mentioned in the caption.

THE BOOKE OF SIR THOMAS MORE

The third of three pages of text generally thought to be in Shakespeare's hand. See page 367. Reproduced with permission from Harleian MS. 7368 in the British Museum.

# SHAKESPEARE QUARTERLY

VOLUME IV

JULY 1953

NUMBER 3

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AMS REPRINT COMPANY  
New York 3, N.Y.

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# *Pericles, Prince of Tyre:* A Study in the Dramatic Use of Romantic Narrative

JOHN ARTHOS



In its first days *Pericles* was a success, and this must mean that it gave the impression of completeness. Reading the play now one is therefore obliged to look for coherence, following Lascelles Abercrombie in *A Plea for the Liberty of Interpreting*, to try to discover a way of looking at its elements that will help make known the nature of its unity. How profitable such an effort may be in the study of *Pericles* Wilson Knight has shown in *The Crown of Life*, where he concentrates on the ideas of the play. But there is something else, the structure, that may also be studied as if all belonged together, in order to discover what one can about the sequences of the scenes, the function of the prologues, and the like, to see how such sequences and this construction serve to present the burden of the play effectively. In such a study one would most happily follow H. T. Price and his *Construction in Shakespeare*.

One would begin with this, that the form of *Pericles*, deriving from extremely romantic material, must turn to dramatic use subjects and devices until now most effectively used in narrative. Romantic stories of a certain kind, crowded, fantastic, fabulous, would present the Elizabethan dramatist with a problem of peculiar interest and difficulty, for he would need to maintain the coherence and the culmination of power his audience had come to expect of comedies and tragedies alike, while developing another way of presenting a quite different kind of material. From a narrative parading marvels, where episodes are presented briefly and ended sharply, and in which characters are described simply and barely developed, he must make a play that will preserve the narrative's sense of wonder, develop the interest necessary for drama, and add the splendor of the stage.

Approaching *Pericles* with such considerations foremost, one may temporarily ignore investigations concerned with the corruption of the text, the question of divided authorship, and the place of Wilkins and his novel in the history of the writing of the play. These are matters that are probably best considered, at least if the evaluation of the play is the matter of major emphasis, after making the effort to see what grounds there are, even in the text as it stands, for believing that the work holds together. Were so much to be granted, one would, for one thing, appreciate more justly reasoning such as that of

Philip Edwards, who has argued that the major differences of the text are to be regarded as the result of reconstructions by two different "reporters," and who implies that in its original form the play was the work of a single author.<sup>1</sup>

The scene of *Pericles* moves from one strange sea-coast to another, from one city to another, one with barbaric customs, one wasted with starvation. Strangers cast up by the sea find armor to fit them and tournaments to win; pirates kidnap a princess. There is one adventure after another, most of them involving terrible misfortunes in outlandish places, guided in their sequence in the play, it would appear, by someone's belief in our insatiable interest in imaginary misfortunes and the fear of evil. Each adventure must be more dangerous than the last or more fearsome, and each rescue must be more strange and more happy.

The play explores a whole wonderful world, Antioch, Tarsus, Pentapolis, Tyre, so many of the great cities of the past, and it is full of kings and the daughters of kings with here and there plain people and here and there derelicts. But the chief interest of the play is not in the variety of the scene, although that provides the means of the play's development, but instead in the succession of one man's misfortunes and his final happiness. This various world and its fantastic actions all serve finally some interest for the audience in the progress of *Pericles*, and sooner or later the drama of adventure becomes a drama within a man and the resolution of the play is the resolution of a life.

The artifices of the play, the stock sophistications of the Greek romances, with the help of poetry lend something of the usual power of romances, suggesting the world of the East and the mysteries of strange oceans. The most markedly romantic devices—tournaments, shipwrecks, ministerial villains—create suspense at various times with their half-serious fear of evil, but other devices, closer to those of folk-lore, present more terrible images of evil, and the beginning situation of the play is one of these, the incident of a man who must solve a riddle in order to win a bride and by the same deed save his own life. What is in itself a horrible enough circumstance, a man in the midst of the skeletons of those who have failed before him in this very trial, is made more terrible by the peculiar villainy of those whose riddle would deceive him, their incest destroying the value of what he sought and hoped to win. And in the end the play must resolve all the horrors, the real and the fantastic.

The initial adventure, the solving of the riddle, is, of course, the beginning of our interest in the action of the play, and this means at first our interest in *Pericles'* success in evading the death Antiochus prepares for him now that his secret has escaped. But the presentation of *Pericles'* state of mind soon becomes a matter of still greater concern as we wonder about this young prince who has committed his hopes to the thought of a maiden entirely beautiful and who is now suddenly deprived of her. Most of the adventures that follow in his wanderings, in his flight from an assassin and then the strange happenings in

<sup>1</sup> "An Approach to the Problem of *Pericles*," *Shakespeare Survey* 5 (1952), pp. 25-46. Mr. John F. Danby in *Poets on Fortune's Hill* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952) has criticized *Pericles* very thoughtfully in relating it to what he calls Shakespeare's interest in the "inwardness" of romances, and he accordingly discusses the play as an expression of the idea of Christian patience. His several remarks on the structure of the play belong partly to the discussion of particular effects, and partly to the thesis of divided authorship. These remarks and the rest of his criticism of the play are not meant, I think, to be part of the general study of the relationship of drama and romance.

distant ports, become increasingly absorbing but not because they reveal the skill and abilities of some Odysseus-like man escaping monsters. What leads us on is something about the peculiar consequence each adventure has for Pericles' soul, the loss of that promised happiness, and, temporarily at least, his kingdom; his winning a wife only to lose her and their daughter too, both supposedly by death; his falling into apathy; the question of the malignity of fortune and the remorselessness of the storms in the sea and the world. The interest that comes to govern us most is some suspense in the question of Pericles' ability to survive these evils and this suffering, and our interest in the sequence of adventures leads us always into thoughts about his sorrow. The end of the play is thus a most happily accepted resolution both of the story and of Pericles' despair, like a miracle and in fact a miracle; like a miracle in the bringing back of Thaisa and Marina from their supposed deaths; and in fact a miracle in Pericles' vision, when after Marina's song he hears the music of the spheres and is as it were himself restored to life.

The continuity of scenes is interesting first, I think, because each scene is in itself interesting, the fantastic excitement is immediately presented, and after that, of course, we count, as in any promising romance, on more than one wonder. It is perhaps true, though measurements are crude, that each adventure is more fantastic than the last, but what matters, of course, is not so much this as that they should be quite different: it is their variety that is fascinating, and not the sense of doom in their accumulation, and there is no contriving of suspense to follow from the development of a plot. But because there is another interest than that in the variety of adventures, the interest in the nature of Pericles, there comes to be something like suspense in the revelation of depth after depth in his consciousness. What began—or might have begun—as a plot of villainy and adventure, became a succession of marvelous disasters and marvelous rescues, in which the order of the happenings follows merely and simply to show Pericles moving into hell. Then, in the third, and perhaps the fourth act too, there are temporary quickenings of interest in this or that destination for his and then his daughter's wanderings as if the play might after all turn into an action reaching a climax. But that stirring was only briefly, and the interest returns again to matters within the soul, and there is indeed a climax though not in an act but in a vision, the revelation which restores Pericles from his death-like sleep to the sound of glory.

The fundamental wisdom of the play and the structure of its development depend on the character of Pericles as a "man on whom perfections wait" (I. i. 79). Like many another in Shakespeare, sure of his "soul's pure truth," he knows from within himself how to defend himself, and like Antipholus of Syracuse, also faced by a kind of riddle, he can say to all who would deceive him,

Against my soul's pure truth why labour you  
To make it wander in an unknown field?

(*Comedy of Errors*, III. ii. 37-38)

His first act had been the courage of simplicity, the commitment of his life to win the daughter of Antiochus, moving to take her in the "unspotted fire of love" (I. i. 53). His courage is founded on his trust in himself, and in the

trust that what he seeks will fully justify his love, as indeed it promised when he saw her—"Her face was to mine eye beyond all wonder" (I. ii. 75). He had no knowledge of her quality except what reputation and ordinary human trust would certify, and in the simplicity of his trust his commitment is religious—there is no other word for this absolute desire, the bride or death. It is his own truth he follows, and there is nothing he can ever regret though he might in other circumstances meet the charge of folly Perdita and Florizel avoid,

a wild dedication of yourselves  
To unpath'd waters, undream'd shores.  
(*Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 576-577)

But the circumstances are very different, and the absolute alternates are necessary not merely for the plot's sake but for the story's quality, for the outrage of such an evil choice, and for the picture of so complete an evil purity must match.

Pericles undertakes to win his love in the midst of the heads of dead men who have failed to gain what he is seeking, and they are dead because they failed to understand the truth when it was told them, the truth of the riddle and of the evil the beautiful girl concealed. He thus engages his life not merely as in a field of skulls with its terrible reminder of Golgotha but in a field of fools. What is especially effective about the setting dramatically is its use to emphasize that something more than the mere accumulation of skeletons, the barrenness of death, is the subject. What is involved is the ability of a man to read the truth of evil, to match his wits against its cunning, its unending history, and still remain as he began, one growing to perfection.

He has divined an evil ordinarily not thought of, ordinarily unthinkable, and through no familiarity with its like. He plainly saw the meaning of the riddle not because he had seen so much of the world but because in that religious hope of his for perfection and by the purity of wonder he had divined what it is to threaten love and perfectness. He had agreed that death should be the cost of failure to solve the riddle, believing the loss of such a bride would make the price necessary. In effect he has thought much about the death of such men whose skulls now look at him, through mere religion he has learned about Hell's dance (I. i. 85), and he means to listen for some other chime.

Another circumstance of extraordinary interest in itself is the conviction that supports Pericles' reading of the riddle: he accepts the truth instantly and never fights against it. His insight into the evil is so certain that his rejection is complete, and swiftly and without upheaval he disowns the love he has been preparing for the princess:

Good sooth, I care not for you (I. i. 86).

Quite simply somehow, at this stage of his dedication, he can withdraw from what is hostile to the perfection of his nature. He had never seen the daughter of Antiochus before, and so we understand that his love has not been formed in a particular worship, and is not like Helena's, no longer free to fail:

'Twere all one  
That I should love a bright particular star  
And think to wed it, he is so above me.  
In his bright radiance and collateral light

Must I be comforted, not in his sphere.  
 Th' ambition in my love thus plagues itself.  
 The hind that would be mated by the lion  
 Must die for love. (*All's Well*, I. i. 96-103)

Pericles' love is something still absorbed in itself, but he is not yet

Like a strange soul upon the Stygian banks  
 Staying for waftage,  
 (*Troilus and Cressida*, III. ii. 10-11)

and the dedication has not yet meant the exchange of promises, as for Troilus:

Or that persuasion could but thus convince me  
 That my integrity and truth to you  
 Might be affronted with the match and weight  
 Of such a winnow'd purity in love!  
 How were I then uplifted! But, alas!  
 I am as true as truth's simplicity,  
 And simpler than the infancy of truth.  
 (III. ii. 171-177)

Not yet bound to another, it is the fulfillment of his nature Pericles is seeking, knowing no more about the bride than about a child who is yet to be born, but desiring such a bride as he later finds by chance, and whose own loss, with the loss of their child, shall mean everything to him but death. He could never accept such evil as he found in the daughter of Antiochus as his destiny, and in the certainty of a perfection that attended him he could say,

Good sooth, I care not for you, (I. i. 86)

simply and finally, and in the face of death. So he lets Antiochus know he knows his secret, speaking as a sovereign, with assurance and insolence:

The blind mole casts  
 Copp'd hills towards heaven, to tell the earth is throng'd  
 By man's oppression; and the poor worm doth die for 't. (I. i. 100-102)

Nevertheless, this is a check and he must pay for it, not in bitterness but in the loss for a time of some completeness for his life. So it is that in the days that follow his flight from Antioch, apathy, a kind of desperation, grows in him. He has for the time being escaped the death Antiochus planned for him, but he hardly cares to:

And what was first but fear what might be done,  
 Grows elder now and cares it be not done. (I. ii. 14-15)

There is something like the despair of the hunted who has lost the hope of escape, but this is also the melancholy of the loss of love and of the loss of good, and of good hope

In the day's glorious walk or peaceful night. (I. ii. 4)

A shock, too, with something of the effect of horror on Desdemona—

*Emilia.* How do you, madam? How do you, my good lady?  
*Des.* Faith, half asleep. (IV. ii. 96-97)

This is Pericles' first lethargy, the apathy of the man who finds no harmony in the world to rouse his full responses, his fullest aspiration. That early commitment failed (it seems), he now lacks love, and in its loss he loses something of his strength and besides must give himself to a flight that offers neither hope nor rest. In flight his life continues somehow, in some kind of faith, and though the resources of civility and kindness stir him to bring help to the starving people of Tarsus, to their thanks there are only his tired words:

We do not look for reverence, but for love. (I. iv. 99)

And the flight takes up again, half purposeless. Finally, shipwrecked, naked, and weaponless he comes to a strange land, like Tristram and Launcelot and Orlando and Hamlet before him, though saved from their madness. And here fortune blesses him, he finds a welcome and a bride of a quality beyond imagining.

The series of incidents that ends in Pentapolis, with Pericles winning his bride, in its representation has been characterized as a succession of striking episodes, where the speeches have been largely explanatory, and even rhetorical, and in a tone pretty much dominated by the baldness and rather awkward strength of the language of Gower's prologues. These, and the dumb shows, in the first two acts do not perhaps quite efficiently set the tone for the other scenes, but there is a kind of coherence between them all, and this the prologues and the scenes certainly have in common, a fundamental reliance on the techniques of narration rather than of drama, in language and in action. The dumb shows, however, explicitly illustrative in part of events that have just taken place, have a dramatic quality rather stronger than most of the other scenes in these acts, and together with the curiously interesting formality of Gower's speeches, could be presented, I believe, in a formal choric way that would lend a similar formal elegance to some of the other scenes.

The beginning of the first act, with the initial situation, the striking dilemma, has its obvious dramatic interest, and the several splendid lines that lead us so well into the quality of the play, interesting us in Pericles, could and perhaps do establish an interest of an intensity a little closer to dramatic power than recitation ordinarily provides.

You gods that made me man, and sway in love,  
That have inflam'd desire in my breast,  
To taste the fruit of yon celestial tree  
Or die in the adventure, be my helps,  
As I am son and servant to your will,  
To compass such a boundless happiness! (I. i. 19-24)

But it is only at the beginning of the third act, when Pericles is taking his bride home, that the language of the play catches some more powerful dramatic passion, and we begin to see the episodes in great vistas, and the action is suddenly sweeping and absorbing. But what had happened before, the manner of the play's construction, a close binding of dumb-show, brief episodes, and Gower's comments, where each incident stopped short of climactic intensity, but where mere repetition and variety in description led us into some continuing



interest in the nature of Pericles and his fortune, all this continues to qualify the rest of the play. Our interest in coming to know the nature of Pericles is unweakened, and is perhaps even emphasized, after the interruption of the scene of the storm. Even if one supposes that it is only with the third act that Shakespeare's work begins, we may still see that what now follows exploits what has gone before, and for all the burst of dramatic intensity in this scene, there is afterwards, and to the end, a continual return to the original narrative manner.

The speech in the earlier acts has been generally simple, not so bare or rocky as in Gower's first prologues, but still rather bare, in which events are not so much acted as described, and yet not quite danced, though the prologues themselves in the context of Gower's as it were archaic decency could well be accompanied by music:

To sing a song that old was sung,  
From ashes ancient Gower is come,  
Assuming man's infirmities,  
To glad your ear and please your eyes.  
It hath been sung at festivals,  
On ember-eves and holidays;  
And lords and ladies in their lives  
Have read it for restoratives.  
The purchase is to make men glorious;  
*Et bonum quo antiquius, eo melius.* (I Prol. 1-10)

Now sleep y-slaked hath the rout.  
No din but snores [the house about],  
Made louder by the o'er-fed breast  
Of this most pompous marriage-feast.  
The cat, with eyne of burning coal,  
Now couches ['fore] the mouse's hole;  
And crickets sing at the oven's mouth,  
[E're] the blither for their drouth.  
Hymen hath brought the bride to bed,  
Where, by the loss of maidenhead,  
A babe is moulded. Be attent,  
And time that is so briefly spent  
With your fine fancies quaintly [eche].  
What's dumb in show I'll plain with speech. (III Prol. 1-14)

The language in the other scenes, so much in the narrative tense, has often been wise and beautiful, but more often with restraint than passion, describing events so terrible that the beauty of this or that line sometimes seems the mere paralysis of passion, where the terrible past is regarded almost coldly so that no embers will be re-fired.

*Per.* A gentleman of Tyre; my name, Pericles;  
My education been in arts and arms;  
Who, looking for adventures in the world,  
Was by the rough seas reft of ships and men,  
And after shipwreck driven upon this shore.

*Thaisa.* He thanks your Grace; names himself Pericles,  
A gentleman of Tyre,

Who only by misfortune of the seas  
Bereft of ships and men, cast on this shore.

*Sim.* Now, by the gods, I pity his misfortune,  
And will awake him from his melancholy. (II. iii. 81-92)

And more than once in the later acts, and always in what might be truly beautiful dumb-shows, the passion of drama is avoided and the restraints of narrative or pantomime dominate.

But with the third act, for a while at least, with the beginning words—

[Thou] god of this great vast, rebuke these surges,  
Which wash both heaven and hell—

suddenly away from the world of pantomime and elegy we find ourselves aboard ship in a tremendous storm and there is the sign of the beginning of a great conflict between the sea and men. And for all that, immediately a succession of adventures comes so quickly again, one right after another, the action is as quickly bare of excitement, and the narrative interest resumes its control of the play: the wife dies, is buried at sea, the infant is given to foster parents, all happens in such brief space the audience never gets in touch with Thaisa and so has little of the sense of tragedy but merely of misfortune and sadness. The narrative comes so fast the characters never have a chance to show their desire for life. What we get are mostly fragments: details about a man who revives the seemingly dead queen with herbs and music; the sight of a prince who calls on the gratitude of people he has once rescued from death to raise his child; the story of Thaisa's rather hasty retreat to a nunnery.

But to say that the episodic form remains the controlling form, and not the ordinarily dramatic structure where the intensity of the climaxes depends on the intricacy of the action, is not to say that the interest of Gower's narrative production fails to increase with the succession of scenes. The play is a success because its narrative method remains faithful to the initial interest. The purpose of the play—"The purchase is to make men glorious"—is developed in the continuing revelation of the nature of Pericles, where each misfortune, each despair, increases our knowledge of his desolation, and where each revival explains the nature, through Marina's quality or through Pericles' own vision, of that initial excellence of his, the man on whom perfection waits. The subject and its source in a romance are limiting the drama in another demonstration of the truth W. P. Ker developed so carefully: "Romance by itself is a kind of literature that does not allow the full exercise of dramatic imagination. . . ."<sup>2</sup> It all comes back to the role of Gower, the narrator, how much he will let the characters speak for themselves, how much he will let them take over the play, and how much he wants them to speak for him. In romances "there is one voice, the voice of the story-teller, and his theory of the characters is made to do duty for the characters themselves."<sup>3</sup> And this, I think, is why Shakespeare keeps Gower, to let us know that what we see before us on the stage is not merely a story dramatized, but a story told by someone who knew about these strange things when they happened, and in having them acted out before us

<sup>2</sup> *Epic and Romance* (London, 1926), p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.



he will be able to bring them together in order to tell us what this strange succession of adventures means, and what, especially, it means to him, an ancient poet brought from death to put the play on.

And more than the drama of history, something that does not have the lyric motion of romance, the yearning for something beyond the limits of the world, *l'amour de loin*, this will be free to tell us about miracles and visions of eternity—matters that to begin with, and apart from religious ceremonies, accommodate themselves more easily to narrative than to drama where we insist most on the immediacy of the usual human world.

So the old poet gives us episodes, exercising his god-like power to bring before us only what we most need in order to prepare ourselves for the miracle he is here to report:

Thus time we waste, and [longest] leagues make short;  
Sail seas in cockles, have [a] wish but for 't;  
Making, to take [your] imagination,  
From bourn to bourn, region to region.  
By you being pardoned, we commit no crime  
To use one language in each several clime  
Where our scenes seems to live. I do beseech you  
To learn of me, who stands [i' th'] gaps to teach you,  
The stages of our story. (IV. iv. 1-9)

So following this adventure and that, full of nostalgia for Tyre and Ephesus and the ancient glories, moved with the awful wonder of a wicked king, of armour fished up from the sea, of a dead queen, we are truly absorbed but not in the excitement that drama usually leads us to. The drama itself is limited and the episodes are brief so we will not ask about the logic of events, and in order that we shall see that what matters is the patternless successions of wonders and evils, this progress into pain that prepares for the epiphany.

The episodes give us pictures more than drama, and with their own logic finally achieve the single symbolic image that expresses the whole play, in its own way comparable to the first sight we have of Oedipus' masque that shows us he has torn out his eyes: Pericles waking from that apathy of his to the sound of the music of the spheres, to others the unheard accompaniment to his daughter's words:

Per. I embrace you.  
Give me my robes. I am wild in my beholding.  
O heavens bless my girl! But, hark, what music?  
Tell Helicanus, my Marina, tell him  
O'er, point by point, for yet he seems to [doubt],  
How sure you are my daughter. But, what music?

Hel. My lord, I hear none.

Per. None!  
The music of the spheres! List, my Marina.

Lys. It is not good to cross him; give him way.

Per. Rarest sounds!  
Do ye not hear?

*Lys.*

Music, my lord? I hear.

*Per.* Most heavenly music!

It nips me unto listening, and thick slumber

Hangs upon mine eyes. Let me rest. (V. i. 223-236)

The passion of the language of the great storm scene, however, has not been for nothing. It has accomplished this: to signify the resources of vitality in this man so horribly pursued by fortune, from that first ill luck of setting his heart on the daughter of Antiochus, but whose vitality helps explain the purity of his commitments, the wholeness of his devotion. Yet even here, where Pericles might rage against the storm, the drama must be subdued, the reaches of pathos treated with reserve to keep the whole consistent. And so in those words to the wife he supposes dead while bringing forth her child in the great storm—

Th' unfriendly elements

Forgot thee utterly (III. i. 58-59)

the word "forgot" in its restraint overshoots his sorrow, and intensity is, I suppose, deliberately avoided.

That is, until the fourth act, anything like active drama is necessary only to prepare the significant images: the man in the midst of skulls driven to flight and apathy; the world raging against a woman bearing a child; a corpse brought to life with herbs and music; a man overcome by the loss of wife and child giving himself over to a kind of ritual death and asceticism as Thaisa herself does; all preparing for the final defeat of Pericles (the next to last image), when, believing Marina dead, through some stubbornness he grows dumb, rejecting in life everything but sorrow. These are the mere remains of Pericles:

He bears

A tempest, which his mortal vessel tears. (IV. iv. 29-30)

For himself too he ought to be calling for help:

and thou that hast

Upon the winds command, bind them in brass,

Having call'd them from the deep! O, still

Thy deaf'ning dreadful thunders; gently quench

Thy nimble, sulphurous flashes! (III. i. 2-6)

But thereafter he is silent until he knows that this is indeed his daughter, who has come to restore to him the excellence of life, and he is brought by wonder to speak:

O Helicanus, strike me, honour'd sir;

Give me a gash, put me to present pain,

Lest this great sea of joys rushing upon me

O'erbear the shores of my mortality

And drown me with their sweetness. O, come hither,

Thou that beget'st him that did thee beget;

Thou that wast born at sea, buried at Tarsus,

And found at sea again! O Helicanus,

Down on thy knees, thank the holy gods as loud  
As thunder threatens us. This is Marina. (V. i. 192-201)

The narrative structure is interrupted for the longest time, in the fourth act, with the brothel scenes, though these also are again followed by scenes in the more nearly narrative style. And here the drama, though not so threatening to the quality of the play as the storm scene had it continued as it began, has a special function.

The essential quality of the brothel scenes is their commonplaceness and their meanness. Here there is little of the outrageousness of fantastic crimes in high places, of shipwrecks in storms where hell seems to rage with heaven, nor is there much of that poetic reality where fisherman comment humorously on big fish eating little fish for all to draw the moral. This is the absence of poetry where little except cheapness is known. The attack upon Marina is thus more severe than anything Pericles has endured, for his enemies, when it is not fortune or the sea, have at least some perception of his quality, if one likes, of his royalty, and the sea at least is no misprizing enemy. He has in some sense support without himself. But no one can intercede for Marina, no one can explain to her captors her right to her own desires. Yet by some skill in words, some power to charm, all such powers that derive from her faith in herself, something after all unnameable, she saves herself. Pericles himself, in describing her, found only similitudes:

thou look'st  
Modest as Justice, and thou seem'st a [palace]  
For the crown'd Truth to dwell in. (V. i. 121-123)

thou dost look  
Like Patience gazing on kings' graves, and smiling  
Extremity out of act. (V. i. 138-140)

The simple certainty of truth and divinity, and something indescribable, like beauty born of a changing sea, some glint of the sun in a crest of foam that has itself disappeared and yet the brightness remains. Resisting force and wealth she continues the "profession" (IV. iv. 69) of her innocence, some perfect consciousness that belonged to her from the beginning. And as religiousness is surely the word for Pericles, so something like divine is the word for her:

She sings like one immortal, and she dances  
As goddess-like to her admired lays. (V *Prol.* 3-4)

The quality she defends seems to be simply the initial quality of her life, its freshness—something as simple as that, and terms like innocence and chastity are too complex to explain her beauty.

There are moments, it is true, when she seems about to take the form of someone in the everyday world, moments of pathos when she says

Ay me! poor maid,  
Born in a tempest when my mother died,  
This world to me is [like] a lasting storm,  
Whirling me from my friends. (IV. i. 18-20)

And there is something plainly charming about her arrangements to buy her freedom as a seamstress and a teacher of music and songs, and we understand the purity and honor of her nature in her marriage to Lysimachus.

But what the brothel scenes emphasize in her is a quality stronger than anything in Pericles. He tried to protect himself from the wastes of infidelity and sorrow by his ritual-like asceticism, wearing mourning garments, letting his hair grow to deformity, fleeing even into dumbness. After a while Pericles could only run from evil, though Marina somehow overcame it. The point must be that the animality of the world, so easily debased, might be thought to be a world in itself, which one might reject and flee from, were there not someone like Marina who subdues it, ennobling all:

My dearest wife was like this maid, and such a one  
My daughter might have been. My queen's square brows;  
Her stature to an inch; as wand-like straight;  
As silver-voic'd; her eyes as jewel-like  
And cas'd as richly; in pace another Juno;  
Who starves the ears she feeds, and makes them hungry,  
The more she gives them speech. (V. i. 108-114)

She has survived the great rage of the world and its meanness, and she proves to Pericles again what he had shown he knew in the very beginning, when he had gone to Antioch for a wife, and when, in the midst of the staring skulls, he had declared simply his commitment to the excellence of a human being. She justifies those early dreams and the sight and sound of her renew his faith, and the words she speaks lead him to hear the music of the spheres.

And so the brothel scenes, with their dramatic qualities, their troubled life contrasting with the field of skulls where Pericles first took his stand, lend something of reality to Marina, their prose against her music, and in that contrast they serve to emphasize her role in a play which depends so much on recitative and music and pantomime, a role she fulfills not in the usual conflicts of dramatic action (for her escape is simple), but in her achievement of what even her enemies recognize as a presence. In her movement through these ugly places and out into the open sky to sing she is mostly a symbolic, not a dramatic character.

One ought not to suppose any special vulgarity in Shakespeare's use of the brothel scenes. They were in his sources, but more than that the brothel was traditionally the scene in the old romances and in the lives of the saints where the power of innocence and trust could be most powerfully asserted,<sup>4</sup> and perhaps there is no better way of showing the obtuseness of so much of life.

At any rate this is the world the daughter of Pericles transcends; she awakens him, and he is as it were reborn. Like the Egyptians Herodotus tells of, having lost a relative he put on mourning, went unshaven and let his hair grow. Then, returned to life, he says,

Give me fresh garments, (V. i. 216)  
Give me my robes. (V. i. 224)

The ritual of renewal replaces the ritual of death, and asceticism gives way to

<sup>4</sup> See Maurice Wilmette, *Origines du Roman en France, L'Évolution du Sentiment Romanesque Jusqu'en 1240* (Paris, 1941), p. 56.

the marriage festival. The play had begun in Pericles' search for a wife, that he might have an heir. And when Diana at Ephesus also brings him back Thaisa, and Lysimachus and Marina are to be married, he may happily tell his wife,

Our son and daughter shall in Tyrus reign.  
(V. iii. 82)

The end to the adventures was the death of the mother and the birth of the child, when the threats of evil which began with the very commencement of the play were brought home. This, and nothing else that had gone before, was truly a tragedy for Pericles. The rest were fantastic adventures, events merely hinting at death. And in another sense, too, this marked the end to the adventures, for the disaster happened after the death of Antiochus whom Pericles thus need no longer run away from. The plot with which the play had begun was ended, and the story about Pericles' soul became the single question.

Alongside that terrible death the past adventures of the play seem mere phantasms—a story about incest, something about a father's armour dragged from the sea, the sight of a kingdom in starvation where parents eat their children. Those events and reality also now have their measure in the sorrow of Pericles. The result, paradoxically, for him, is another phantasm, a state of apathy, of half-sleep, and he will lie speechless upon a couch while the world goes on about him, and all means are sought for his recovery, the earth ransacked for medicine, and finally when he wakens it will be not to the mere world but to the world a vision sanctifies.

There has been so much that has been passive in Pericles' life, he has been so much the buffet of fortune, that this passivity helps lend a half-unreal quality to all those fantastic days that went before, and it helps dispose us to regard them as though they took place in a dream. And the dramatic image we have of him awakening to the vision makes all those early scenes, for us as for him, seem more than ever like a dream. The romantic, casual, dumb-show succession of events has fulfilled its purpose, it has prepared us to recognize that so much of the world fades away in the face of suffering, and that suffering too will fade. It has prepared us for the final pantomime of a sleeping man awakening to a music no one else hears, and to the vision that is indeed reality. For that moment of hearing heavenly music is the point to which the whole play moves, bringing together all that has gone before, relating the first plot of the flight from Antioch to the story of love and stories about storms and pirates and brothel-keepers, brings them all together both in their logic and in their chanciness as the meaningless pattern of evil and of the false appearances of life. The suggestion that evils follow each other and can only repeat each other defines the pattern, the pattern we see again and again in the repetitions of the dumb show, the description upon the monument of Marina's funeral, and now Pericles' death-like sleep. These are the patterns of decay, and all that has life and meaning is Marina's truth, and in her saving power the pattern shows its paradoxical use—

Thou that beget'st him that did thee beget. (V. i. 197)

The play ends as it began, in narrative, with the story of the vengeance that has come upon the wicked king and his wife who might have been the

death of Marina. Gower brings us again into the proper tone, the tone of a story that took place a long time back, away from the sense of an action just now ending before our eyes:

In Antiochus and his daughter you have heard  
Of monstrous lust the due and just reward.  
In Pericles, his queen and daughter, seen,  
Although assail'd with fortune fierce and keen,  
Virtue [preserv'd] from fell destruction's blast,  
Led on by heaven, and crown'd with joy at last. . . .

The narrative tone is the fit one to tell about the sound of heavenly music and the appearance of a goddess, a comment on what in drama could hardly be more than pantomime, about a man driven to dumbness by evils that should have just such effects, the arrogance of royal incest, the devilish ingratitude of Marina's guardians, and then her death, she the great wonder born of that terrible storm a long while ago.

*University of Michigan*

May 22<sup>nd</sup> 1721. I do agree to pay Mr.  
 Alexander Pope one hundred pounds for  
 Consulting & writing a Preface & making  
 Notes & Explaining the obscure passages  
 in the Works of Mr. William Shakespear  
 & the said Alexander Pope doth agree  
 to publish the said Works of Mr. William  
 Shakespear in the manner before mentioned  
 within Two years from the date hereof -  
 Witness our hands

June 11. 1722.

Recd 40<sup>li</sup> in part. A. Pope.

Feb. 26. 1722<sup>3/4</sup> Recd 60<sup>li</sup> more in full of  
 this agreement, by me A. Pope.

A. Pope. &  
 Jacob Tonson.

POPE'S EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE, 1723-25.

Agreement signed by Alexander Pope and Jacob Tonson, with signed notations  
 of the two payments, totaling £100, for editorial work. See also page 367.

Notice is hereby given, *H. G.* Decem: 1733.  
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THAT all the Seven Volumes in Octavo of *Theobald's Shakespeare* are finish'd at the Press, and will be gather'd into Setts, collated, and ready to be deliver'd to the Subscribers on *Monday* the 21<sup>st</sup> of *January* next. The Book complete, with a List of the Subscribers Names, is to be seen at Mr. *Theobald*, the Editor's Houſe, in *Wygn's* Court, in *Great Russell* Street, *Blomesbury*.

N. B. Twenty Royal Paper Setts, and Thirty of Demy, being all the Books that remain unsubscrib'd for, Subscriptions are now only taken in by the *Editor* at his Houſe aforeſaid.

THEOBALD'S EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE, 1733.

Printed notice of publication, with date inserted in manuscript by Lewis Theobald, the editor. See also page 367.



# Characterization in Shakespearian Comedy

NORTHROP FRYE

**I**N drama, characterization depends on function: what a character is follows from what he has to do in the play. Dramatic function in its turn depends on the structure of the play: the character has certain things to do because the play has such and such a shape. Given a sufficiently powerful sense of structure, the characters will be essentially speaking dramatic functions, as they are in Jonson's comedy of humours. The structure of the play in its turn depends on the category of the play: if it is a comedy, its structure will require a comic resolution and a prevailing comic mood.

These sound like simple principles, but it is extraordinary how undeveloped they are in Shakespearian criticism. They have been neglected for a historical approach, which, however useful in itself, is not based squarely on the conventions of the dramatic genre. Of all forms of literary expression, the drama is the least dependent on its historical context. No doubt many in Shakespeare's audience did addle their brains with the theory of monarchy or Reformation theology or the chain of being or the four humours when they were not being better educated by Shakespeare. But theatrical audiences, as such, hardly change at all from one millennium to another. In the earliest extant European comedy, *The Acharnians* of Aristophanes, we meet the *miles gloriosus* or swaggering soldier who is still going strong in Shaw's *Arms and the Man* and Chaplin's *Great Dictator*. We meet the comic parasite who in the Denis of O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock* appears practically unchanged in twenty-five centuries. TV audiences are still laughing at the same kind of jokes that were declared to be worn out in the opening dialogue of *The Frogs*. It will therefore not do to explain, say, the rejection of Falstaff in historical terms only, and merely say that the original audience were much more aware than we of the importance of getting France conquered by a strong leader. (One may observe in passing that if any member of Shakespeare's audience did not know that sixty years of unbroken disaster followed the career of Henry V, his ignorance was certainly no fault of Shakespeare's.) We know very little about the contemporary reception of Shakespeare's plays, but one of the things we do know is that Falstaff was exactly the same kind of popular favorite then that he is now, and for exactly the same reasons. It is similarly not surprising that Elizabethan audiences could still be amused by Plautus and Terence, or by adaptations of them which differ very little from their models.

The central approach to Shakespeare, therefore, can only lie through a study of dramatic structure, both in the individual play and in the broader structural principles which underlie the categories of tragedy and comedy.

Shakespearean comedy is a form in which the same devices are used over and over again. By not paying enough attention to structure, we deprive ourselves of the perfectly legitimate pleasure of appreciating the *scholarly* qualities of Shakespeare, of seeing in the repeated formulas of his comedies a kind of Art of Fugue of comedy.

The most recent dramatic critic to be primarily interested in the structure and the categories of drama appears to be Aristotle, who did not say much about comedy. There does exist, however, a treatise called the *Tractatus Coislinianus*, a dry bald little summary, a page or two in length, of all the essential facts about comedy. Professor Lane Cooper, in his edition of it, suggests that it may summarize Aristotle's own lost work on comedy: it certainly is very close to Aristotelian ideas. And what the *Tractatus* says about characterization in comedy is this: "There are three types of comic characters: the alazon, the eiron, and the bomolochos."

Alazon means impostor, boaster or hypocrite, a man who pretends to be something more than he is. Eiron means a person who deprecates himself, and thereby deflates or exposes the alazon. The proper meaning of bomolochos is buffoon, a word usually restricted to farce in modern English, but which may be extended to the general sense of entertainer, the character who amuses by his mannerisms or powers of rhetoric. This list is closely related to a passage in the fourth book of the *Nicomachean Ethics* where Aristotle contrasts the bragging alazon with the self-deprecating eiron; but Aristotle also contrasts the buffoon with another character whom he calls *agroikos* or churlish, literally "rustic." So we may expand the three types of the *Tractatus* into four. This rustic type may also be extended to cover the whole range of what Elizabethans called gulls and what in vaudeville used to be called the straight man, the solemn or inarticulate character who allows the humor to bounce off him, so to speak. The relation of Sir Toby Belch to Sir Andrew Aguecheek will illustrate the contrast.

We now have four typical characters in comedy, arranged as two opposing pairs. If character depends on dramatic function, it follows that there are four typical functions in comedy, and four cardinal points of comic structure.

It is clear that the buffoon and the churl or rustic polarize, however, not so much the structure of comedy, as the comic mood. What a clown may do in a play is variable: his essential function is to amuse, and the essential function of the rustic is to act as a foil for him. We must therefore look to the opposition of alazon and eiron to find the structural principle of comedy. Such a contest is found in all comic forms: one thinks for instance of the first book of the *Republic*, in which the ironic Socrates, who deprecates his own knowledge, demolishes the boastful Thrasymachus, who says more than he knows. One thinks too of all the hundreds of comic scenes in which some kind of boastful or self-deceived character soliloquizes complacently while another character makes sarcastic asides to the audience. We see at once that the dramatic relation of alazon and eiron is very different from the ethical one. Aristotle disapproves equally of boaster and self-deprecator: to him they are on opposite sides of the golden mean of behavior. But in drama the eiron regularly speaks for or has the sympathy of the audience, and the alazon is his predestined victim.

Now let us apply this idea of a contest of eiron and alazon to the formulas of Terence and Plautus, who were still structural models for the Renaissance

dramatists. Their plays are usually based on an erotic intrigue between a young man and a young woman, often a slave or courtesan. The intrigue is opposed either by the young man's father, or by some other kind of rival, often a wandering soldier, often a pimp. At the beginning of the comedy these opponents of the hero have control of the girl, or at least are able to thwart his desire. At the end of the play they are outwitted and the hero has his will. Such comedy turns, then, on a clash between two social groups, who are opposed even when they contain many of the same individuals. The center of one group is the hero and heroine; the center of the other is the father, the rival, or the persecutor of the heroine. We should expect to find our alazon types, then, in the latter group, and the eiron types in the former.

The commonest type of alazon is of course the braggart or *miles gloriosus*, and he runs through Shakespeare from the Thurio of *The Two Gentleman of Verona* to the Stephano of *The Tempest*. The main reason for his popularity is that he is a man of words rather than deeds, and is consequently far more useful to a dramatist than any tight-lipped hero could possibly be. Shakespeare gives a series of subtle and ingenious variations on the theme. Aguecheek, for example, has, as we have said, many of Aristotle's *agroikos* characteristics. He is a *miles gloriosus* gone into reverse: he may be a coward, but he is a completely inarticulate one, a behaviorist's paragon whose every remark is pure response to stimulus. Slender in *The Merry Wives* is a similar combination of types. Parolles is a half-pathetic figure, a compulsive braggart who hates his own runaway tongue, and is almost relieved to be unmasked. The kernel of truth in the Morgann conception of Falstaff seems to me to be that Falstaff is not an uncomplicated bragging coward, like, for instance, Jonson's Bobadil, but a versatile comic genius who adopts the *miles gloriosus* as one of his obvious roles.

Another common type of alazon is the pedant or crank, who is also a man of words without deeds, in the sense that he is full of ideas that have no relation to reality. In Renaissance drama such a type is frequently a student of the occult sciences, like Sir Epicure Mammon or the astrologer in Congreve's *Love for Love*, though the simple pedant is common enough from Cinquecento Italian comedy on. There is a whole nest of comic pedants in *Love's Labour's Lost*, including the king himself, with his academic Utopia, Holofernes, and the metaphysical poet Armado. Otherwise, Shakespeare seems not greatly interested in the type. The related type of the fop or coxcomb, who is such a staple of courtly drama, interests Shakespeare even less: the only clear example, Osric, belongs to a tragedy. The *female* alazon is rare in Elizabethan drama: Katharina the shrew is the only Shakespearian example. In later bourgeois comedies the *miles gloriosus* is often replaced by a female rival to the heroine, a "menace" or siren, as she would be called now, but this development is for the most part post-Elizabethan. So is the comedy of the bluestocking or *précieuse ridicule*, though the Beatrice of *Much Ado* has a link with the type in her role as a wit converted to love.

Turning to the eiron characters, we find that the center of this group are the technical hero and heroine, the pleasant young man and the pleasant girl he finally gets. We usually find too that these characters are rather dull unless they are combined with other types. The young men (*adulescentes*) of Plautus and Terence are all alike, as hard to tell apart in the dark as Demetrius and

Lysander. The hero's character has the neutrality that enables the whole audience to accept him without question, and hence the dramatist plays him down, makes him quiet and modest, a self-deprecating eiron. In *The Merry Wives* the technical hero, a man named Fenton, has only a bit part, and this play has picked up a hint or two from Plautus' *Casina*, where the hero and heroine are not even brought on the stage at all.

Far more important, from the point of view of characterization, is the type entrusted with hatching the schemes which bring about the hero's victory. This character in Roman comedy is almost always a tricky slave (*dolosus servus*), and in Renaissance comedy he becomes the scheming valet who is so frequent in Continental plays, and in Spanish drama is called the *grazioso*. Modern audiences are most familiar with him in Figaro and in the Leporello of *Don Giovanni*. Shakespeare starts out full of enthusiasm for the clever servant in the *Comedy of Errors* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, but soon reduces him to the rank of an incidental clown, as in the Lancelot Gobbo of *The Merchant of Venice*. Elizabethan comedy however had another type of trickster, represented by the Matthew Merrygreek of *Ralph Roister Doister*, who is generally said to be developed from the vice or iniquity of the morality plays, a complicated question into which we cannot enter here. The vice, to give him that name, is very useful to a comic dramatist because he acts from pure love of mischief, and can set a comic action going without needing any motivation. The vice may be as light-hearted as Puck or as malignant as Don John in *Much Ado*, but as a rule the vice's activity is, in spite of his name, benevolent, at least from the comic point of view. It is he who helps the play to end happily, cheats or hoodwinks the stupid old men, and puts the young in one another's arms. He is in fact the spirit of comedy, and the two clearest examples of the type in Shakespeare, Puck and Ariel, are both spiritual beings.

The role of the vice includes a great deal of disguising, and the type may usually be recognized by disguise. A typical example is the Brainworm of Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*, who calls the action of the play the day of his metamorphosis. Similarly Ariel has to surmount the difficult stage direction of "Enter invisible." In tragedy the vice has a counterpart in the type usually called the Machiavellian villain, who also often acts without motivation, from pure love of evil. Edmund in *King Lear* has the role of a tragic vice, and Edmund is contrasted with Edgar. Edgar, with his bewildering variety of disguises, his appearance to blind or mad people in different roles, and his tendency to appear on the third sound of the trumpet and to come pat like the catastrophe of the old comedy, seems to be an experiment in a new type, a kind of tragic "virtue," if I may coin this word by analogy.

The vice is combined with the hero whenever the latter is a cheeky, improvident young man who hatches his own schemes and cheats his rich father or uncle into giving him his patrimony along with the girl. The vice-hero is a favorite of Jonson and Middleton, but not of Shakespeare, though Petruchio is close to the type. The vice can also, however, be combined with the heroine, who usually disguises herself as a boy to forward her schemes. For some reason this is Shakespeare's favorite combination, in which his chief precursor appears to have been Greene.

Another eiron type has been even less noticed. This is a character, generally

an older man, who begins the action of the play by withdrawing from it, and ends the play by returning. He is often a father with the motive of seeing what his son will do. The action of *Every Man in His Humour* is set going in this way by Knowell Senior. The disappearance and return of Lovewit, the owner of the house which is the scene of *The Alchemist*, is parallel. The clearest Shakespearean example is the Duke in *Measure for Measure*; but Shakespeare is more addicted to the type than might appear at first glance. One of the tricky slaves in Plautus, in a soliloquy, boasts that he is the *architectus* of the comic action. In Shakespeare the vice is rarely the real architectus: Puck and Ariel both act under orders from an older man, if one may call Oberon a man for the moment. When the heroine takes the vice role, she is often significantly related to her father, even when the father is not in the play at all, like the father of Helena, who gives her his medical knowledge, or the father of Portia, who arranges the scheme of the caskets.

As *You Like It* and *The Tempest* reverse the usual formula of the retreating eiron, as Duke Senior and Prospero are followed by the whole cast into their retreats. In Prospero the architectus role of this older eiron type is at its clearest. The formula is not confined to comedy: Polonius, who shows so many of the disadvantages of a literary education, attempts the role of a retreating paternal eiron three times, once too often. It also has a tragic counterpart in the returning ghost of the Senecan revenge plays. In other words, the major and minor themes of *Hamlet* are in direct counterpoint, the latter being a stock comic theme adapted to a tragedy. *King Lear* has a very similar structure: there too the minor or Gloucester plot is a tragic adaptation of the common Terentian theme of a stupid old father outwitted by a clever and unprincipled son.

We pass now to the buffoon types, those whose function it is to increase the mood of festivity rather than to contribute to the plot. Renaissance comedy, unlike Roman comedy, has a great variety of such characters, professional fools, clowns, pages, singers, and incidental characters with established comic habits, like the malapropism of Dogberry or the comic accents of Fluellen and Dr. Caius. The oldest buffoon of this incidental nature is the parasite, who may be given something to do, as Jonson gives Mosca the role of a vice in *Volpone*, but who, *qua* parasite, does nothing but entertain the audience by talking about his appetite. He derives chiefly from Greek Middle Comedy, which appears to have been very full of food, and where he was, not unnaturally, closely associated with another established buffoon type, the cook, who breaks into several plays of Plautus to bustle and order about and make long speeches about the mysteries of cooking. In the role of cook the buffoon or entertainer appears, not simply as a gratuitous addition, like the parasite, but as something more like a master of ceremonies, a center for the comic mood. There is no cook in Shakespeare, though there is a superb description of one in the *Comedy of Errors*, but a similar role is often attached to a jovial and loquacious host, like the "mad host" of *The Merry Wives* or the Simon Eyre of *The Shoemakers Holiday*. In Middleton's *A Trick to Catch the Old One* the mad host type is combined with the vice. In Falstaff and Sir Toby Belch we can see the affinities of the buffoon or entertainer type both with the parasite and with the master of revels.

Finally, there is a fourth group to which we have assigned the word *agroikos*, and which usually means either churlish or rustic, depending on the

context. We find churls in the miserly, snobbish or priggish characters whose role is that of the refuser of festivity, the killjoy who tries to stop the fun, or, like Malvolio, locks up the food and drink instead of dispensing it. In the sulky and self-centered Bertram of *All's Well* there is a most unusual and ingenious combination of this type with the hero. More often, however, the churl belongs to the alazon group. All miserly old men in comedies are churls, and Shylock has a close affinity with this group. Shakespeare often sets up a churlish or sinister figure at the beginning of his comedy to act as a starting point for the comic action. Examples are Duke Frederick, Leontes and Angelo. In *The Tempest*, Caliban has much the same relation to the churlish type that Ariel has to the vice or tricky slave. But often, where the mood is more light-hearted, we may translate *agroikos* simply by rustic, as with Shallow, Silence and Slender.

In a very ironic comedy a different type of character may play the role of the refuser of festivity. The more ironic the comedy, the more absurd the society, and an absurd society may be condemned by, or at least contrasted with, a character that we may call the plain dealer, an outspoken advocate of a kind of moral norm who has the sympathy of the audience. A good example is the Cléante of Molière's *Tartuffe*. The plain dealer, however, goes with an implication of moral values, and Shakespeare, with his usual adroitness in keeping out of moral rat-traps, avoids the type. His closest approach to one, and it is not very close, is the Lafew of *All's Well*. In a pastoral comedy, however, the idealized virtues of rural life may be represented by a simple man who speaks for the pastoral ideal. Two social grades of this are exhibited in the Duke Senior and the Corin of *As You Like It*. When the tone deepens from the ironic to the bitter, the plain dealer tends to become the malecontent or railer, like Apemantus, who may be morally superior to his society, as he is to some extent in Marston's play of that name, but who may also be too motivated by envy to be much more than another aspect of his society's evil, like Thersites. Shakespeare makes no attempt to alter the traditional conception of Thersites as an envious railer. But the mood of *Troilus and Cressida* is so sardonic that Thersites steals every scene he is in.

In his characterization, as in everything else, Shakespeare is a better dramatist than his contemporaries, but not a different kind of dramatist. In the writers of humour comedies, Jonson, Marston, Massinger, Middleton, Chapman, dramatic effect is normally predictable in terms of dramatic function. If a braggart is introduced, he will brag until he is unconditionally exposed. Shakespeare uses the same formulas, but in a much more subtle, complex and unpredictable way. Lucio, in *Measure for Measure*, belongs to the alazon group of characters: he is not a *miles gloriosus* like Parolles, but like Parolles he talks too much. The Duke has the eiron role of disguising himself as a simple monk, listening unseen to the action, and then returning as an awful incarnation of omniscient judgement. The stage is set for the utter annihilation of Lucio, and in Jonson it would have been that: the scene is dramatically not unlike the trial of Volpone. But Lucio scores point after point against the Duke; he keeps getting laughs, and any character who gets laughs gets at least some of the audience's sympathy. Horrid doubts arise in our minds: perhaps the Duke after all is only a tiresome and snoopy old bore, who has heard of himself what an eavesdropper deserves to hear. Of course morally and historically sound critics will conclude, no doubt



rightly, that the scene represents an impressive triumph of Justice over Slander, and demonstrates the values of personal monarchy to an audience already convinced of them. Those who are morally spineless and historically vague, like myself, will have to take what comfort we can from the incidental victories of impudence over dignity.

But I imagine that Shakespeare had a similar diversity of creatures in mind. Many in his audience doubtless held properly Jacobean views about government and prerogative, and, like some modern critics, thought that the Duke alluded to James I himself. Or there may have been in the audience that Henry Hawkins who asserted that Queen Elizabeth had had five children by Lord Cecil, and went on her progresses in order to be delivered of them. It is because he can get every ounce of dramatic effect out of his situations that Shakespeare's characters seem so wonderfully lifelike. I am not trying to reduce them to stock types, but I am trying to suggest that the notion of an antithesis between the lifelike character and the stock type is a vulgar error. All Shakespeare's characters owe their consistency to the appropriateness of the stock type which belongs to their dramatic function. That stock type is not the character, but it is as necessary to the character as a skeleton is to the actor who plays it.

*Victoria College, Toronto*

My Lord,

I had paid my Duty personally, could I; as a  
Stranger, have hop'd the Priviledge of approaching  
your Grace. The Motive of this Address is to beg  
the Honour of Your Grace's Name to a Book, w<sup>ch</sup> is  
the Delight of every Gentleman of Taste. The printed  
Advertisement, w<sup>ch</sup> attends This, My Lord, shews, that  
the Work will be compleat for my Subscribers on Mon:  
day the 21<sup>th</sup> Instant. The price of the Whole is but  
3 Guineas; 2 whereof on Subscribing, the Other on  
Delivery.

To receive your Grace's Commands, and to be  
indulg'd in the Honour of your Subscription, I shall  
ever esteem a signal Obligation: as I shall be proud  
of any Occasion of confessing Myself, with all due  
Submission,

My Lord,  
St. James's Court in Great  
Russell street  
13 Jan<sup>y</sup>. 1733.

Your Grace's most  
Obedient & most humble  
Servant  
Lew: Theobald


THEOBALD'S EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE, 1733.

Letter in the editor's hand, inviting the subscription of an unknown duke. The printed list of subscribers includes the names of eight dukes. See also page 367.



# Variant Readings in the First Folio of Shakespeare

CHARLTON HINMAN

NLY in recent times has any special value been assigned to authors' manuscripts or to transcripts copied directly from them. Hence the "true originalls" from which Renaissance books were printed have for the most part long since perished, and our best sources for determining what an author actually wrote must be those printed versions of his works that are most immediately derived from his holographs. These are called "substantive" editions. All later editions are as a rule derivative from a single substantive edition and are hence without textual authority: they only take us farther and farther away from what the author wrote. A substantive edition, on the other hand, has approximately the authority of the manuscript from which it was printed. Ideally, it is an exact reproduction of this manuscript, and the two can differ only to the extent that changes may be introduced during the printing process itself. In practice, such changes always occur. We now recognize clearly, therefore, that the proper editing of the literary monuments of the Renaissance requires the fullest possible knowledge of the workings of the printing-houses of that time. It follows as an important corollary of this general principle that we cannot hope for definitive texts of particular Renaissance works until we know whatever there is to be discovered about the proof-reading and stop-press correction to which the substantive editions of these works were subject during the course of their printing. This knowledge can be gained only by the discovery and analysis of the variant readings which stop-press correction produced; and only by means of careful collation—by the detailed comparison, that is, of different copies of the same edition—can these variants be found.

By much the most challenging and important field for extensive collation efforts is furnished by the First Folio of Shakespeare. The Folio version of some of the plays, to be sure, is wholly derivative from earlier quartos. But for some entire plays (such as *The Merry Wives*, *Henry V*, and *King Lear*) and for parts of others (including *Richard II* and *Othello*) the Folio provides the best text despite earlier substantive versions; and for about half of the dramatic works of Shakespeare it preserves the *only* substantive text. Some of the plays were printed from manuscripts in Shakespeare's own hand; others from transcripts copied directly from his holographs. The First Folio is thus the prime textual authority for a large part of what we value most in literary art. Since, moreover, a very large number of copies of the First Folio has survived, the materials needed for discovering its variants are unusually abundant. Certainly

most, if not all, of the Folio's variant readings can be determined through the collation of less than the 230-odd copies still extant. Probably the 79 copies in the Folger collection alone will suffice. But the task is still rather staggering; the collation of only 60 copies, for example, would necessitate the accurate and minute comparison of well over 50,000 large, double-columned pages. The sheer magnitude of even such a labor is of course the main reason why the job has never been done, and it makes readily understandable our relative ignorance about the kind of treatment accorded the text of Shakespeare in the Jaggard printing-house during the preparation of the celebrated edition of 1623. But the means of resolving some of this ignorance are now at hand.

Several years ago the present writer predicted the eventual development of a mechanical instrument that would so greatly facilitate collation as to make practicable the detailed comparison of large numbers of copies of any printed book.<sup>1</sup> It is one of the purposes of this article to announce that such an instrument has at length been perfected and is now being used to collate First Folios; and that reproductions of the single machine so far built may soon be proving valuable aids in many other collation tasks, both large-scale and small. To students of the text of Shakespeare, however, the tool will be of less interest than the work it fashions. Accordingly, the principal objective of this essay is to indicate the kind of evidence the new machine is enabling us to turn up among different copies of the First Folio, and to suggest some of the bibliographical and editorial implications of this evidence.

### I. *The Machine*

Over a period of several years, and with the help of a most generous grant from the Old Dominion Foundation, I have been able to construct an instrument which, though it doubtless could be further improved, I am at last content to regard as "perfected"; and I am now working with it at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington.<sup>2</sup> This instrument has two chief virtues as a collation aid. First, it enormously speeds things up. It has enabled me to collate well over a hundred folio pages a day for some months, 180 pages in less than five hours being the maximum rate so far achieved. Second, because of the optical principles which it utilizes (but which cannot conveniently be described here), it makes for far more accurate collation than has heretofore been possible. Taking reasonable care, the investigator can hardly fail to note any variant, however minute, in two copies of the page being examined.

Against these advantages of speed and accuracy must be charged certain limitations. Certainly the instrument does not eliminate human fatigue. I have had competent professional advice that the continued use of the "collator" for several hours each day should have no harmful effects upon the vision of the user—and I have suffered none in the several months I have been working with it. Yet one cannot peer into the instrument continuously for long periods

<sup>1</sup> "Mechanized Collation: A Preliminary Report," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XLI (1947), 1-8.

<sup>2</sup> I should like to acknowledge also the aid and advice received from other institutions and from individuals too numerous to list here. I am grateful to all, but most particularly to Dr. Giles Dawson, of the Folger Library, who not only has been an invaluable advisor from the beginning, but who unhesitatingly took over the development work for me during the first two years of the Korean war.

without tiring one's eyes; and if variants are never to be missed through sheer visual exhaustion, a practical limit must be set to the time spent in working with the machine: about four hours, broken by occasional rests (including a lunch hour), I have generally found sufficient unto the day. Again, the machine can successfully be used only in within-the-edition collation: it requires object-pairs that are largely identical, and hence will not facilitate the collation of one edition with another (although, and for the same reason, it very rapidly distinguishes resettings, fakes, facsimiles, and the like, even when the differences are so slight as otherwise to escape careful attention). Nor is the instrument readily portable.

These are mere limitations; a serious disadvantage is the cost. Despite the relative simplicity of the machine, its optical components are expensive, and replicas will probably cost something of the general order of \$1000—enough, at any rate, to insure that it will ordinarily be acquired by institutions rather than by individual scholars. The Old Dominion Foundation, however, has recently agreed to finance (within limits) the preparation of production drawings by means of which the present instrument can be reproduced in any standard machine shop. As soon as these drawings have been completed, a set can be made available to any applicant wishing to construct a collator for non-commercial use.

## II. *The Variants*

It is perhaps not yet fully appreciated that "the First Folio text" is, strictly speaking, only an abstraction, since individual copies of the First Folio in fact present us with a great variety of different texts. This should not be surprising. For more than two centuries the commonly employed methods of press-correction were such that different copies of the same edition of a given text could not fail to be variant. The first impressions or pulls from a "forme" (the letterpress for one side of a full, unfolded sheet: two type-pages, of course, in folio printing) were used as proof-sheets; but printing was continued all the while the proof-reading was going on, about three pulls a minute being made from the still uncorrected forme. As proof-reading would take time, a good many copies of the "first state" of the forme were produced before the marked proof was ready, presswork was interrupted, and the changes required by the reader were at last effected. Only now could the press begin to print from the corrected state of the forme. Since, moreover, both paper and presswork were commodities too precious to be wasted, the uncorrected copies hitherto wrought off were destroyed only if thought to contain really serious, perhaps dangerous, errors. Ordinarily they were preserved and eventually found their way, just as if corrected, into some copies of the finished volume. Nor did the uncorrected states of the successive formes making up the whole book go regularly into the *same* copies. We might well suppose that the workings of a printing-house would be sufficiently systematic, if only in the handling of the piles of paper being used, to insure that individual copies of finished books would at least usually be made up either of early-printed or of later-printed sheets throughout. Often, perhaps, they were; but not in Jaggard's shop during the printing of the First Folio. Different copies of this book show all conceivable mixtures of early and late, of corrected and uncorrected formes. Even the surviving proof-sheets bear this

out. Probably all four of the actual proof-sheets now known<sup>3</sup> were originally bound into the book just as if they too were corrected states of the formes involved. Three of the four are still integral parts of surviving copies of the First Folio—but of three different copies. And each of these three copies shows *corrected* states of the formes immediately before and after the proof-sheet, despite numerous *uncorrected* formes scattered elsewhere throughout the volume.

Mention of these proof-sheets permits the emphasizing of another point. The statements so far made about the stop-press correction that characterized the printing of the First Folio (and of many other books of the period) do not rest upon inference and supposition, but are matters of demonstrable fact. About some of the most basic problems connected with the press-correction of the First Folio, on the other hand, there has hitherto been considerable doubt. Does the book even contain large numbers of variants? Can it really be true that “the First Folio text” is a mere abstraction; that, as some commentators have declared, probably no two surviving copies are textually identical? And how consistent was the proof-reading that produced such variants as may be found? Were some plays proof-read and others not; were some plays given very special attention; or were they all treated in much the same way?

It is now possible to offer quite definite answers to some, at least, of these questions. I have to date (April 1953) collated twenty-two copies of the First Folio throughout the “Tragedies” (including *Troilus and Cressida* and *Cymbeline*); all of the presently available Folger copies in the formes in this part of the book that have already proved variant; and eighty copies throughout signatures ss-vv (which contain the whole of *Othello* and parts of *King Lear* and of *Antony and Cleopatra*).<sup>4</sup> This work represents only a beginning: the collation of a relatively small number of copies through only about a third of the plays. But variants have already been found in such abundance as to provide at least a preliminary warrant for the suggestions that follow.

In the first place, the Folio unquestionably does contain large numbers of variant readings. The collation of eighty copies through the eighteen *Othello* formes shows that nine of these—a full 50%—are variant. Several of these variant formes, moreover, are not merely in two but in three or more states of relative correctness. Individual variant readings range in number from none (since corrections were often made in only one of the two pages of a forme) to fourteen, the average being about four per variant page. But perhaps, the reader may object, these facts apply only to *Othello*; can we be certain that variants are numerous elsewhere? Just *how* numerous, to be sure, cannot yet be said. But 51 of the 163 formes that make up the Tragedies have already been found variant, some in more than two states; and it is to the highest degree improbable that the collation of only twenty-two copies has left no further variant formes to be discovered in this part of the book. The pages now known

<sup>3</sup> The fourth of these, only recently discovered, is described and discussed in my article, “The Proof-Reading of the First Folio Text of *Romeo and Juliet*,” forthcoming in Vol. VI of *Studies in Bibliography*.

<sup>4</sup> The *Othello* pages were done in 1949 with the aid of an earlier model of the present machine. Since that time, as a precaution against possible disaster, about half of the 79 irreplaceable Folger copies have been removed from Washington. Thus only 40 copies (two of these lacking the Tragedies) are immediately available for study; but the other 39 copies will be brought back for collation as soon as work has been completed on the copies now in the Library. About two years will be required for the collation of the entire Folger collection throughout all 36 plays.

to have been corrected at press show from one to sixteen changes each, a single forme in *Romeo and Juliet* containing a total of twenty-five (eleven in one page, fourteen in the other). Hundreds of individual variants have already been discovered; many more are sure to turn up.

An equally categorical answer can be given to two other "basic" questions. I have met with no copy that is wholly corrected. Every copy that has so far been collated throughout the Tragedies shows from one to twelve uncorrected states (the average per copy being approximately six); and no pair of these copies exhibits precisely the same mixture of corrected and uncorrected states. It cannot, of course, be maintained that exceptions will not be found among some of the copies yet to be examined; but the evidence already in hand firmly establishes two general principles. It demonstrates clearly: (1) that no two copies of the First Folio selected at random should ever be supposed textually identical throughout; and (2) that no single copy is likely to preserve anything that can properly be considered "the First Folio text."

The evidence also makes it apparent that different plays were proof-read and corrected with very different degrees of care. Some of the observed facts probably bear witness to the activity of various proof-readers not equally skillful or conscientious; though there is also reason to believe that the amount of care devoted to the press correction of a given play depended in some measure upon the kind of "copy" from which that play was being printed. In any event, there are differences. They are manifest, not only in both the number and the quality of the corrections that appear among the various tragedies, but also in the widely divergent proportions of uncorrected to corrected states that survive in separate plays. The Folio preserves, for example, a remarkably high ratio of uncorrected to corrected states of the *Romeo and Juliet* text. Seven of the fifteen formes of this play have already proved variant; and uncorrected states of these seven formes are encountered, on the average, in one out of every six copies. The overall proportion throughout the Tragedies is only about one in twelve. There is but one reasonable explanation. Evidently no very rigorous effort was made to proof-read the various formes of *Romeo and Juliet* as promptly as possible, to insure that the finished book would contain the smallest practicable number of uncorrected formes of this play. The tardiness of the proof-reading for *Romeo and Juliet*, moreover, is no more noteworthy than its carelessness. Although much—possibly all—of the play was proof-read, as is shown by its numerous variant formes, surprisingly few errors were actually corrected. As we have seen, one of its formes shows twenty-five variants; but this is distinctly exceptional: elsewhere in the play the maximum number of corrections in any page is three, and four of the twelve variant pages show but one correction each. Yet the Folio text of *Romeo and Juliet* teems with errors, often of the simplest and most obvious kind, that were allowed to stand unchanged.<sup>5</sup>

Nor are such phenomena confined to *Romeo and Juliet*. They appear in *Titus Andronicus* and in *Troilus*; and other plays, notably *Hamlet* and *King Lear* and *Othello*, are also full of relatively trivial variants. Certain other plays fall into a quite different category. Not a single variant reading has yet been found in *Coriolanus*, though the Folio text of this play appears to be unusually free of corruption. *Coriolanus*, it may be conjectured, either was so carefully

<sup>5</sup> A detailed analysis of these peculiarities appears in the article referred to above in note 3.

set in the first place as to require no correction, or, more likely, was subjected to very careful correction so promptly that few (if any) uncorrected states were ever printed. If the latter supposition is the right one, uncorrected states will probably be found in due course—and should prove extremely interesting.

Truly careful press-correction produces readings of great textual authority. A compositor sets type from his "copy"—from a holograph manuscript, let us suppose it, of one of Shakespeare's plays. A proof-reader, in theory at least, only corrects the errors of the compositor; and when a change required by the proof-reader indeed restores a reading of the "copy" which the compositor has failed to reproduce accurately, then obviously the later state of the reading is authoritative. It is almost certain to preserve what Shakespeare actually wrote. In practice, however, the proof-reader does not always bother to consult copy. He simply marks for correction *what seems to him* wrong, and the readings he calls for instead are only his own conjectures as to the correct text. Whenever this happens the later reading is without real authority and the uncorrected state, even though obviously corrupt, may well be closer to the reading of the copy than the "correction" introduced by the proof-reader. When a new reading appears in place of another that is itself satisfactory—one that makes good sense and is metrically and otherwise consistent with its context—we can usually be sure that the later reading is in fact that of the copy. But a new reading may only vulgarize or simplify another. In a certain passage in *Othello*, for example, Shakespeare almost certainly wrote *acerb*, a word wholly unknown to most Elizabethans; and the Folio's substitution of the familiar *bitter* surely represents unwarranted "improvement." (See Globe I. iii. 355.) Again, a new reading may only correct a minor error that is both obvious and simple (as in substituting *you* for *yon* when a pronoun seems called for by the context). Such changes do not imply reference to copy; and in the former, at least, the earlier state is unquestionably the right one.<sup>6</sup>

These considerations will make clear that a proof-reader may either improve a text or debase it. What the author wrote may be firmly established by a correction; but the true text may be better represented by the uncorrected reading. Hence we are particularly interested in knowing how often the proof-reading for the First Folio reflects reference to copy. Will any appreciable number of its variants show anything more than the arbitrary, unauthoritative, and sometimes extremely careless correction process than can in some places be seen at work? And what textual principles will be involved; how, if at all, will editorial practices be affected? These are large questions, and of course they cannot yet be definitively resolved. It is possible, however, to indicate some of the directions in which the evidence already available seems to be pointing.

It is manifest, for example, that most of the variants in the Folio do not imply reference to copy. There can be no doubt that the proof-reading for many of the Tragedies was primarily intended to eliminate obvious error rather than to guarantee the most faithful possible reproduction of Shakespeare's text. The changes called for by the proof-reader are often extremely inconsequential,

<sup>6</sup> *Acerb* is the reading of Q1, *bitter* (invariably, as far as is now known) of F. Thus the alteration is not, in this instance, chargeable to the Folio proof-reader. Yet it clearly illustrates the kind of vulgarization to which Shakespeare's text was subject and of which both compositors and proof-readers were often guilty.



and seldom indeed do they reflect that reference to copy which may confer supreme textual authority upon a correction. The following, for example, are more or less typical of many of the variants so far encountered in certain plays. They appear in a page of *King Lear* (sig. rr3<sup>r</sup>, p. 297).

*Uncorrected*

1. when<sup>1</sup>l
2. 'o le
3. go<sup>1</sup>t
4. skin. fo 'tis
5. there
6. lie, slet
7. Fathomand
8. T aitor
9. else<sup>1</sup>we

*Corrected*

- when I  
Foole  
good  
skinfo: 'tis  
there,  
lies, let  
Fathom and  
Traitor  
else we

It will be seen at once that there is nothing of great moment here; and perhaps noticed too that in the fourth of these variants the "corrected" state is considerably more corrupt than the reading originally set (cf. Globe III. iv. 7). This kind of thing is indeed disappointing. By no means does it follow, however, that the variants in the First Folio are without real significance. Unrewarding as at first they may seem, both individually and collectively, even such variants have important lessons to teach us; and I should like to conclude with a few suggestions on this point.

First, however, it should be observed that only a fragment of the evidence is in, and hence that final judgments about the quality of the variants throughout the Folio are not possible—or at least not prudent. The Comedies and Histories may prove to contain variants quite different in kind and purpose from those commonly encountered in the later-printed Tragedies. We may yet find among the Tragedies themselves—in *Coriolanus*, say or *Macbeth*—corrections derived immediately from authoritative manuscript copy; and a single correction of this sort may have profound textual implications. Much of the real meaning of *Hamlet*, it will be recalled, has been thought to turn upon whether Shakespeare intended "solid flesh" or "sullied flesh" in Hamlet's first soliloquy. It is not likely that we shall discover numerous individual variants that require radical or sensational changes in the texts of Shakespeare's plays. Yet more minute differences than that between *solid* and *sullied* can have real importance. Absolutely opposite meanings can be produced by the alteration of a single letter. (There would be small *literal* difference, for instance, between "She must now die" and "She must not die.") Even a slight change in punctuation may more or less seriously affect both meaning and poetic texture—as any editor of *Macbeth* will realize when confronted with the final line of the famous speech which ends (in the Folio version; cf. Globe II. ii. 58-63)

this my Hand will rather  
The multitudinous Seas incarnadine,  
Making the Greene one, Red.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The punctuation of Hamlet's apostrophe, "What a piece of worke is a man!" (Globe II. ii. 315-320), has been much debated, since it vitally affects both the meaning and the prose rhythm of a celebrated passage. The Folio actually shows variant punctuation in this speech—though not in the places over which argument has raged.

Variants still to be discovered may also throw light on the puzzling but possibly significant fact that such plays as *Romeo* and *Titus*, which are mere reprints of earlier quartos, contain many more variants than have so far been found in the four tragedies in the same part of the book that were set from manuscripts: *Coriolanus*, *Timon*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Macbeth*. Or they may help us to understand why, in one play, variant formes always show corrections in both pages of the forme, whereas in others the variants are more often than not confined to but one page of the pair. And even if these matters remain enigmatic, the facts that call them to our attention will serve to re-emphasize what it is surely important to know: that each play in the Folio presents a unique textual problem—and not least because the different plays, as even trivial variants plainly show, received different kinds of treatment at the hands of the Folio printers.

As far as is now known, the press-corrections in the First Folio ordinarily do not show reference to copy. It is therefore all the more important to recognize that individually inconsequential variants, and variants of which *corrected* states are wholly without authority, may also have great value to editors of Shakespeare. Such variants may serve either to corroborate or radically to disturb received textual doctrine. They may, indeed, be more useful than their betters in solving the textual problems presented by particular plays. It is entirely possible, for example, that minor variants in spelling and punctuation will provide convincing proof that Dr. Alice Walker is right in her bold argument that the Folio text of *Othello* was printed, not from a manuscript, as has long been believed, but from an edited copy of the Quarto of 1622. I am not now prepared to say just what light the variants in the Folio may eventually throw on this question. But I recall that the Quarto invariably, in some thirty-odd occurrences, spells *lieutenant* with an initial *Lei*; and that one of the corrections in the Folio *Othello* is from "Leiutenant" to the "Lieutenant" that is elsewhere, in the Folio, normal. This fact alone proves nothing; but variants of this kind are exactly what might be expected if the Quarto did serve as copy for the Folio *Othello*. Some of the peculiarities of the Quarto would be inadvertently reproduced by the Folio compositor. Not often, but occasionally, these would be caught by the proof-reader and normalizing corrections would be made. Hence a few more variants of this sort would go far toward establishing Dr. Walker's thesis. And if she is right, the editions of *Othello* that we may have hitherto considered satisfactory must be considerably modified.<sup>8</sup> The conclusion appears inescapable: small variants among "accidentals"—spelling, capitalization, italicization, punctuation, and the like—cannot safely be scorned by any careful student of the text of *Othello*.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Alice Walker, "The 1622 Quarto and the First Folio Texts of *Othello*," *Shakespeare Survey* 5 (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 16-24.

<sup>9</sup> Incredible as it may seem, even an inking space-quad (as in variants 1 and 9 in the list given above) could provide useful evidence. The strange punctuation of one line in *Romeo and Juliet* is unquestionably the result of the Folio compositor's mistaking for a comma a lightly inking quad in the Quarto of 1609, which served as copy for the Folio text of this play. One or two instances of similar mispointing in *Othello* derived from inked quads in the Quarto of 1622 would strongly bolster Dr. Walker's other arguments. And the correction of inking quads and of poorly inking letters (see also variants 2 and 3 in the list) within the Folio itself—especially when (as happens) nearby textual corruptions are left unchanged—is at least a good pointer to the kind of thing that was often the main preoccupation of the proof-reader: typographical refinement rather than textual fidelity.



November the 20 1740.

An Agreement enter'd in to and made this present day between  
J<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hanmer Bart and Francis Hayman Esq.

1. The said Francis Hayman is to design and delineate  
a drawing to be prefix'd to each Play of Shakespear  
taking the subject of such scenes as the said J<sup>r</sup> Thomas  
Hanmer shall direct. and that he shall finish the same  
with Indian ink in such manner as shall be fit for an  
Engraver to work after them and approved by the said  
J<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hanmer.
2. That the said J<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hanmer shall pay to the  
said Francis Hayman the sum of three Guineas  
for each drawing taking one with another as soon as  
the whole number shall be finished. upon this condition  
nevertheless and it is declared and mutually  
consented to that if the whole number shall not be com-  
pleted in the manner before mentioned by Lady Day  
which shall be in the year of our Lord 1741. The said Fran-  
cis Hayman shall not be entitled to receive any payment  
in consideration whatsoever for any part of the said work.

Thos. Hanmer  
To: Hayman

HANMER'S EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE, 1744.

Agreement between Sir Thomas Hanmer and Frances Hayman, the artist, for drawing  
one illustration for each play in the edition. See also page 367.

Persons to whom I am to give  
a sett of Shakespear when publish'd

Mr William Buxbury

His five Sinders

Cap<sup>l</sup> Philips

Dr Charlby

Mr Lynnesman. & another to the school.

Mr Smith of Harleston

Mr Harcock

Mr Duncombe

Mr Will. Lyton of Deatigh.

Dr young

Dr Delany

Mr Thompson

Mr Thomas Ingle

Thos. Hanmer

HANMER'S EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE, 1744.

List in Sir Thomas Hanmer's hand of "Persons to whom I am to give a sett of Shakespear when publish'd." See also page 367.

Press-corrections that represent only the sophistications and hasty "improvements" arbitrarily introduced by a none-too-meticulous proof-reader, have, however, other and more general implications, particularly since they are evidently so numerous and pervasive. If the First Folio is replete with unauthoritative improvements of the kind illustrated from *King Lear*, and full also (at least in some plays) of obvious errors that were *not* corrected, does it not follow that editors are justified in somewhat more freedom of emendation than they might otherwise consider their prerogative? This is perhaps a dangerous suggestion. Editorial freedom, if abused or exercised injudiciously, can lead quickly to textual chaos. Yet I would submit that the evidence provided by the variants in the First Folio may prove considerably to extend the limits within which emendation is a legitimate part of editorial endeavor—and, indeed, one of its primary responsibilities. Certainly, in any event, editors should place higher value upon uncorrected than upon corrected readings whenever variants cannot reasonably be supposed to reflect reference to copy. Obvious corruption alone seems ordinarily to have received attention during the printing of a substantial part of the First Folio; and obvious corruption is far less dangerous to the accurate transmission of texts than plausible but unauthoritative correction by a proof-reader interested rather in the acceptable than in the true. The modern editor, concerned as he is with recovering what his author wrote, is likely to make sounder corrections than such a proof-reader.

A particularly clear illustration is to be seen at the beginning of the Willow Song in *Othello*. The uncorrected state of the first line reads

*Def. The poore Sonle set fining, by a Sicamour tree.*

This becomes, in the corrected state

*Def. The poore Soule sat finging [etc.]*

The correction is so plausible as to be at once acceptable. It not only makes satisfactory sense but accords admirably with the larger dramatic context. For is not Desdemona, in lamenting her own unhappy estate, full at once of grim forebodings and of sad memories of poor forsaken Barbara, herself *singing* a song? Let the reader consult his own editorial conscience. Would he not, in the absence of other evidence than the corrected Folio text (and the Quarto lacks the Willow Song altogether), be perfectly satisfied with this reading? Probably he would. And rightly, indeed, especially if he knew nothing either of the uncorrected state or of the characteristic practices of the *Othello* proof-reader. For if the Willow Song had been original in Shakespeare, and hence without an independent textual tradition, it is hardly likely that modern editions would have the poor soul *sighing*, as she should be, rather than *singing* her lamentations. "An old thing 'twas," the Willow Song, to Shakespeare as to Desdemona. Its pre-Elizabethan text is known, and there can be no real doubt about the *sighing* in the first line.

Without knowledge of this fact, even an editor thoroughly familiar with the Folio's stop-press variants, and hence especially attentive to uncorrected states, might fail to emend *sining* correctly. But he would be far more likely to recover the true text than the editor to whom the obviously corrupt *sining* was unknown and to whom the *singing* carelessly supplied by the Folio proof-reader

was therefore not suspect. The principle, I believe, is an important one. And it follows directly from a study of the arbitrary, trifling, and unauthoritative press corrections that abound in the First Folio.

It has been my argument that we cannot hope for the best possible edition of the text of Shakespeare until all of the variants in the First Folio, authoritative and unauthoritative alike, have been discovered and recorded. When this task has been accomplished I hope that it may be possible to publish a new photographic facsimile embracing a complete record of all the variants. Such a book would be large and expensive; but it should prove a basic tool for all future students who seek to know "the First Folio text."

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# Shakespeare Improv'd, or A Case for the Affirmative

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S offensive as the rewritten plays of Shakespeare may seem to a Shakespearian scholar, they present an entirely different picture to a student of theatrical history. As is well known, immediately after the Restoration in 1660, existing English plays were divided between the two companies. The King's House or Theatre Royal, with Sir Thomas Killigrew as patentee, seemed to have got the most and the best. By 1668, Killigrew had most of Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Shirley, Chapman, Marston, Middleton, as well as *Richard II* and *III*, *Coriolanus*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Julius Caesar*, *Othello*, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Henry IV*, and twelve other plays by Shakespeare.

At first glance, Sir William Davenant of the Duke of York's House fared less well. A document dated December 12, 1660, reads:

... Sr. William Davenant, Knight, hath humbly presented to us a proposition of reformeing some of the most ancient Playes that were playd at Blackfriars and of makeinge them fitt for the Company of Actors appointed vnder his direction and command; *Viz:* the playes called the Tempest, Measures for Measures, Much adoe about nothinge, Rome and Juliet, Twelwe night, the Life of Kinge Henry the Eyght, the Sophy, Kinge Lear, the Tragedy of Mackbeth, the Tragedy of Hamlet, prince of Denmarke, and the Dutchesse of Malfy . . .<sup>2</sup>

In 1668, he was given, along with a few scattered plays by other authors, *Timon of Athens*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and the three parts of *Henry VI*. Immediately, he combined the two that best suited the times, creating his *Law Against Lovers* from *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado about Nothing*. In this strange amalgam, he did what can be expected of all playwrights in rewriting: loaded the plot with the accepted philosophy of the time, expanded the existing characters that suited the individual players in the company, and created entirely new characters for specific players where none existed. He also started the revamping of *The Tempest*, which was in the process of being rewritten from then on until it dwindled—or was magnified (it depends on how one looks at it)—into a song and dance spectacle. In like manner, at the King's House the actor John Lacy completely transformed *The Taming of the Shrew* into a low comedy solo performance called *Sauney the Scot*. The mere fact that Shakespeare's text was mangled temporarily, however, becomes rela-

<sup>2</sup> Allardyce Nicoll, *Restoration Drama, 1660-1700* (London, 1928), pp. 314-315.

tively unimportant when one considers the knowledge gained in examining the significant changes in dramatic history that these rewritten plays reveal.

The difference between management and attitude of the patentees of the two theaters is, for this revelation, of utmost importance. At the Restoration in 1660, the Theatre Royal under the direct patronage of Charles II enjoyed the greater popularity. Killigrew had recruited the only remaining experienced players who had survived and had continued to practice their art surreptitiously during the Commonwealth. His two mainstays were Charles Hart and Michael Mohun; and with the best old plays in their possession, they took up their acting careers where they had left off. They were accustomed to a drama in which the masculine figure was dominant, and the few new plays accepted by them followed the tradition of the male drama in spite of the presence of such charmers as Mistress Boutell, Mistress Corey, Mistress Knepp, the Marshall sisters, and Nell Gwyn. Female characters continued to be subordinated, for the most part, to the male characters because of the tradition handed down by the early dramatists who had written feminine roles to be performed by young boys and whose real concern was to use the woman character as briefly as possible and get her off the stage. Since all drama was male drama, the woman was used as scapegoat, tool, or foil, as the case might be, for the larger masculine emotion on which the playwright was focusing his attention.

One has only to examine Shakespearian tragedy to realize the truth of this assertion. As fully rounded and boldly conceived as his great women appear, it must be conceded that his attention is not focused on them, because first, the position of woman in the Renaissance precluded the possibility that a feminine emotion or tragic flaw could result in true tragedy, and secondly, the exigencies of the times demanded that female characters be written so that young boys could play them convincingly. The emotional scenes in which women are involved *on the stage itself* are few. They develop off-stage, whereas the male characters develop in sight of the audience, and we are concerned primarily in the pride of Coriolanus, the ambition of Macbeth, the madness of Lear, the busy imagination of Hamlet rather than in the driving force of Volumnia or Lady Macbeth, the filial constancy of Cordelia, or the madness of Ophelia.

The stock plays at the King's House continued to be those of the late Elizabethan period, including a few of Shakespeare's, presumably little rewritten with the exception of *The Taming of the Shrew* already mentioned. An examination of the list indicates the prevailing male quality, chosen, of course, for Hart and Mohun as a vehicle for their bravura style of acting.

But Davenant understood much better than Killigrew that, as Cibber pointed out years later, "the additional Objects then of real, Beautiful Women could not but draw a proportion of new Admirers to the Theatre."<sup>2</sup> While the Theatre Royal had enjoyed during the 60's and early 70's the initial advantage of a big stock of old plays and experienced players performing in the established pre-Commonwealth mode of acting, Davenant's young and inexperienced company, with Thomas Betterton as chief actor and apprentice director, was experimenting with new playwrights, with young actors, and especially with actresses who could be taught the new, "natural" or, as we would say today, the Stanislavsky method of acting.

<sup>2</sup> Colley Cibber, *Apology for the Life* (Dublin, 1740), p. 53.



Davenant was a man of the theater from inclination and early training. Ingenuity of a particular kind was a necessary attribute of a man who, before the Commonwealth, had written and arranged masques for court presentation, using the King, the Queen, Lords, and Ladies—indeed, writing specific parts for them to play.<sup>3</sup> He was accustomed to working with and making the most of what he had, whether it was a script or an individual. He was also used to translating the contemporary atmosphere into the reality (or unreality) of theatrical presentation. Although we can now see in perspective that he lacked inventiveness and vision in carrying the love-and-honor masque theme of the court of Charles I and Henrietta Maria over into the much changed Restoration court of Charles II, he was doing in one way what Killigrew was doing in another. Killigrew tried to turn back the clock by employing all of the old actors and presenting them in the old plays. Davenant, always the inventor and innovator, put his emphasis in 1660 on the theme of drama that was fashionable at the closing of the theatres in 1642 and had stood him in good stead far into the Commonwealth. This almost flamboyant insistence upon the last word in fashion is the quality that made him welcome women to the stage and use them effectively. We know that he took them into his own house and looked after their training. It is true that he did not achieve in all his writing a single real woman character, and in tampering with Shakespeare's women, he committed mayhem not to be condoned. But it is certain that he was aware of his actresses every time he "reformed" a play, consciously creating entirely new female characters as well as enlarging most of the already existing feminine roles. Even his augmented *Tempest* contained three new women to one new man, and Hippolyto was created solely for the erotic delight that Dorinda (and the audience through her) received from the novel experience of seeing a man for the first time.

It is to be expected that the Duke's House would turn to the few old plays which had been allotted to them and "reforme and Fitt" them to their needs. And their needs were not the same as those of the King's House with its two outstanding male players. At the Duke's House, Mary Saunderson (soon to be Mistress Betterton) had caught the eye of the public, won the susceptible heart of Pepys as Ianthe in *The Siege of Rhodes*, and was as great a drawing card as Betterton himself in the role of Alphonso. It was Mistress Betterton who set the early standard of female stage deportment different from that used at the King's House. The character of Ianthe as played by Mary Betterton was to establish one concept of woman for the Restoration audience and was to color theater heroines for nearly two decades. In like manner, Roxolana, Ianthe's opposite, was to be the prototype for the wicked woman. Some changes could be rung, but basically, Ianthe and Roxolana ruled drama for the next twenty years. Through their weapons of love and honor, moreover, they really ruled. Their sentiments changed the conduct of princes, of rulers, and of generals; they were impossibly noble and pure or beyond imagining wicked and scheming, but men adored or loathed according to the formula of the Platonic mode that had suffered a sea change crossing the channel to adorn the court of Henrietta Maria.

<sup>3</sup> A few of his court masques are *Love's Mistress; or, The Queen's Masque* (printed 1636); *The Temple of Love* (1634) with Henrietta Maria and her Ladies-in-waiting at Whitehall; *Britannia Triumphans* (1637), in which Charles I took part; *Salmacida Spolia* (1640).



As interpreted by Davenant in Carolinian masques and plays, the thoroughly anglicized Platonic mode served as the first statement of heroic drama in the 1660's and 1670's. According to Dryden, Davenant "comply'd not enough with the Greatness and Majesty of an Heroick Poem" but weakened his dramatic effect by his effort "to show us ourselves in our ordinary Habits" and in *The Siege of Rhodes* "was forced to turn his Thoughts . . . to introduce the Examples of Moral Virtue."<sup>4</sup> Looking at his dramatic efforts from the perspective of three hundred years, we conclude that he was the link between the Platonic mode established in the Carolinian theater and carried over into the full blown heroic drama of the first two decades of the Restoration, and female tragedy, which he did not envisage before his death in 1668 but nevertheless became the prime factor in establishing.

The best example both of the presence of Davenant's own type of love and honor play in the first two decades after the Restoration and his shrewd use of the women in his company (and let me emphasize the dramatic personality of the individual actress) is his early redaction of *Macbeth*. (Pepys saw it November 5, 1664, but it was not published until 1674.) We see in this early rewriting of a familiar play something more than Davenant's passion for squaring up everything dramatically. In *Lady Macduff*, we find the impossibly saccharine nobility which distinguishes the "good" woman—the Ianthé figure of *The Siege of Rhodes*. But we recognize that Davenant's *Lady Ianthé Macduff* is one of the facets of the early Restoration idea of woman—realistic woman as contrasted with the bigger-than-life symbol of woman a boy player could act through sheer art and training. In *Lady Macbeth*, we have the other Restoration face of woman, the wicked *Roxolana* of *The Siege of Rhodes*. Given Shakespeare's elliptical drawing of the ruthless *Lady Macbeth*, neither Davenant nor his audience could allow her tragedy to be finished to the off-stage "cry of women" and *Macbeth's* weary dismissal of

She should have died hereafter;  
There would have been a time for such a word.

It was mandatory that she see the ghost of Duncan, that she suffer on the stage in the presence of the audience, and more important, that she suffer like a woman of their acquaintance, not like the magnificent creature of Shakespeare's imagination.

In the 1674 version, we are astonished to see *Macbeth* and *Macduff* firmly tied to the apron strings of their wives by the Davenant concept of love and honor. In the resulting shift from male to female dominance, the women characters are made guardians of their husbands' honor; and the whole concept of loyalty, of conscience, comes plummeting down from Shakespearian heights to a deadly domesticity in which *Lady Macduff*, with the children waiting conveniently off-stage in a chariot, takes *Macduff* to task on the heath for a possible deviation from true loyalty to Malcolm. She moralizes in wifely fashion:

Ambition urg'd him [*Macbeth*] to that bloody deed:  
May you be never by Ambition led:  
Forbid it Heav'n, that in revenge you shou'd

<sup>4</sup> John Dryden, "Of Heroick Plays, an Essay," preface to *Almanzor and Almahide* (London, 1725).

Follow a Copy that is writ in blood. . . .  
 I am affraid you have some other end,  
 Than meerly *Scotland's* freedom to defend.  
 You'd raise your self, whilst you wou'd him dethrone;  
 And shake his Greatness, to confirm your own.  
 That purpose will appear, when rightly scan'd  
 But usurpation at the second hand.  
 Good Sir, recall your thoughts.<sup>5</sup>

We see the same quality even more in Husband Macbeth's answer to Wife Macbeth when she urges him to abdicate because her nerves will not stand the strain any longer. He demands:

Can you think that a crime which you did once  
 Provoke me to commit? Had not your breath  
 Blown my Ambition up into a Flame  
*Duncan* had yet been living.

She counters with:

You were a Man.  
 And by the Charter of your Sex, you shou'd  
 Have govern'd me; there was more crime in you  
 When you obey'd my Councils, than I contracted  
 By my giving it. Resign your Kingdom now,  
 And with your Crown put off your guilt.

Macbeth, refusing to abdicate, replies that he will seek better councilors. She exclaims:

What, your Witches?  
 Curse on your Messengers of Hell. Their Breath  
 Infected first my Breast: See me no more.  
 As King your Crown sits heavy on your Head,  
 But heavier on my Heart: I have had too much  
 Of Kings already.<sup>6</sup>

Actually the changes so often noted—according to Downes, “being drest in all it's Finery, as new Cloath's, new Scenes, Machines, as flyings for the Witches; with all the Singing and Dancing in it”<sup>7</sup>—are not so important as the implications in the rewritten and re-oriented roles of the two women. It was not bad taste, for taste is relative, that prompted Davenant to lengthen the role and make a moralizing agent of Lady Macduff and to have Lady Macbeth talk like a seventeenth-century housewife instead of the tortured and guilty Queen of Shakespeare. The words he put into the mouths of the actresses when he expanded their roles were almost colloquial, familiar to those who spoke them and to the audience that heard them. This insistence upon the Restoration conception of reality in depicting woman—and that concept based upon the Ianthé-Roxolana combination—is the first step in a bigger movement in drama, which is more easily seen because we can compare Shakespeare's text with the Davenant version and note why the changes were made.

<sup>5</sup> Sir William Davenant, *Macbeth* (London, 1674), Act III, p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Act IV, pp. 53-54.

<sup>7</sup> John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, edited by Montague Summers (London, n.d.), p. 33.

As has been pointed out, both Houses made use of a few rewritten plays at the very beginning of the Restoration, but it was not until the uneasy time between 1678 and 1682 that completely rewritten plays came in quick succession, five at the King's House and six at the Duke's. The political disturbance known as the Popish Plot put a stop to nearly all original plays because of the possible accusation from one side or the other of being party sympathizer to the Earl of Shaftesbury or to the Duke of York. The Duke's Company especially dared not venture since they were avowed partisans of the Duke of York and could not risk a Tory mob's wrecking their playhouse with flimsy excuses and the cry of NO POPERY.

It is to be expected, therefore, that both houses would turn to the old plays in their possession and bring them up-to-date. Prologues, epilogues, prefaces, and dedicatory letters emphasize the indebtedness to Shakespeare. Authors wished to divert any wrath that the opposing side might generate by making, ahead of time, such a special statement as Nahum Tate did in the prologue to *The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth*:

Our Author does with modesty submit,  
To all the Loyal Criticks of the Pit; . . .  
Yet he presumes we may be safe to Day,  
Since Shakespear gave Foundation to the Play.

During this hazardous time, the King's House presented Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus*, Dryden's *All for Love*, Tate's *The Sicilian Usurper* (*Richard II*), Tate's *The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth* (*Coriolanus*), and D'Urfey's *The Injur'd Princess* (*Cymbeline*). All of these were predominantly male offerings, having been selected and rewritten with Mohun and Hart in mind.

At the Duke's House, however, it is interesting to see the transition from the early Davenant version of *Macbeth* to the Popish-Plot-induced rewritten plays, in which the authors were forced to conform to the strictures of the time and, in doing so, managed to use to the greatest advantage their most important theatrical assets, the women. By 1678, there were new recruits: Mary Lee (to become Lady Slingsby early in 1681), midway in acting technique between the old and the new; Mistress Shadwell, wife of the dramatist, who played the character parts of jilts and coquettes; and Elizabeth Barry, who was to revolutionize the style of acting and change it from the stereotyped posturing used by Davenant's early company to the "natural" manner adopted by Betterton, who was her director and co-actor for thirty-five years. It was for these five players—four women and a man—that Shadwell wrote his version of *Timon of Athens* (c. Jan., 1678), Dryden rewrote *Troilus and Cressida* (c. April, 1679), Crowne supplied his two redactions of *Henry VI* (c. March, 1680, and c. Sept., 1681), Otway rewrote *Romeo and Juliet* as *Caius Marius* (c. Sept., 1679), and Tate refurbished *King Lear* (c. March, 1681).

In *Timon of Athens*, Shadwell supplied entirely new major parts for Mistress Betterton and Mistress Shadwell where no roles for women had existed before. For Mistress Betterton, he created her usual Ianthe-like role, the faithful, sacrificing mistress Evandra, and for Mistress Shadwell, the typical coquette, Melissa. Dryden frankly rewrote *Troilus and Cressida* for the specific actors.

Anthony Leigh's Pandarus is hand-tailored; there is a reference in the text to Cave Underhill's prominent nose, mournful eyes, and great hulking figure as Thersites; Mistress Betterton's characteristic heroic figure of Andromache is a completely new character in the play; and Cressida fits Mary Lee like a glove. Typical of Dryden, he simplified the complex character of Cressida to the basic and all-encompassing fundamental of sex, emphasized by a declamatory harshness characteristic of all parts written for Mary Lee. Crowne's two redactions of *Henry VI* contained stock roles for Mistress Lee as Queen Margaret and for Mistress Betterton as Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, in Part I and as Lady Grey in Part II. Both facets of love and honor gilded the female roles of these four plays.

But when it came Otway's turn to rewrite *Romeo and Juliet*, neither Mistress Betterton (with Davenant's Ianthe never really out of her blood) nor Mary Lee (with her stylized tragedy-queen ranting) was suitable for his Lavinia, the re-christened Juliet of *Caius Marius*. There was need for a new actress to play a role that was neither Ianthe nor Roxolana. A Restoration audience could not understand Juliet as Shakespeare had written her because she did not fit into a preconceived pattern. Otway gave the star-crossed lovers a political background suitable to 1679 Popish Plot England; against that backdrop is placed the first woman character who was fully credible to a Restoration audience—one who was the direct forerunner of Otway's Monimia in *The Orphan* the next year (1680) and to his Belvidera in *Venice Preserv'd* (1682), acknowledged then and now to be the greatest English tragedy after Shakespeare. All three roles were written by Otway for the newcomer, Elizabeth Barry. And it took the circumstances of the pitiful love of an emotional playwright for a young and as yet untyped actress to bring forth something hitherto unknown on the English stage—genuine feminine emotion from both the lines of the author and from the lips and actions of the actress, expressed in terms that the audience understood and could respond to with true sympathy. Otway chose wisely when he selected Juliet as the basis for the new heroine, but neither he nor his contemporaries could have foreseen the far-reaching results in dramatic literature.

Elizabeth Barry had been recruited for the Duke's Company around 1675, and we read of her failure and dismissal until the Earl of Rochester intervened, made her his mistress, and began her theatrical training. He insisted that she understand all of the words of her role, that she have them completely memorized and a part of herself, and that she enter into the emotions they expressed before she uttered them. He abandoned the traditional posturing and gesticulating that had been formulated in training young boys how to act like women and had been modified somewhat to embrace the cardboard Ianthe- and Roxolana-like characters. Working with a pliant woman, he brought out all the natural characteristics, pointed each feminine gesture, and, for the first time, used the newest device of the theater, woman, to the fullest advantage. Edmund Curll points out:

As no Age ever produced a Person better skilled in the various Passions and Foibles of Mankind than my Lord Rochester, so none was more capable of instructing her to give those heightening Strokes which surprized and delighted all who saw her.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Edmund Curll, *History of the English Stage* . . . (London, 1741), p. 16.

In order to break down the established manner of acting, it was necessary for him to be revolutionary; and in that age of tradition and stylization, to be revolutionary was merely to be natural. Rochester recognized in Mistress Barry the suitable material for which he was willing to stake his reputation as a wit and patron of the theatre. Her common sense dictated the permanent adoption of this realistic method of acting for which she became famous. It was to lead to the changes which came about gradually in the playwrights' attitude toward the parts that women were to play. The point is that the playwrights did not dictate the change—the players did.

The distorted story of Otway's tragic love for Elizabeth Barry, the mistress of his patron, the Earl of Rochester, has been known for years. Roswell Ham in his *Otway and Lee, Biography from a Baroque Age* (1931), dates the beginning of the playwright's love during the composition of *Don Carlos* and *Titus and Berenice* (both in 1676), in which the sympathetic treatment accorded equally to the three characters of the triangle fits exactly the position in which Otway was placed with Rochester and the woman both of them loved. By 1679, however, Otway had broken with Rochester and abandoned the motif of the struggle which a lover finds between true allegiance to his lord and the fascination exercised over him by the woman both love. And by the time he came to rewrite *Romeo and Juliet* in September, 1679, he was expressing in his play the same searing emotion that we see in his letters: "I Love, I Doat, I am Mad, and know no Measure . . . every Minute I see you, I still discover something new and more bewitching. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

There is no doubt that Otway rewrote the play for her. It fits too perfectly into her past career and her future to doubt. Paradoxically, the renown that Mistress Barry received from creating his heroines made her forever inaccessible to him. In *Caius Marius*, the description that young Marius (Romeo) gives of his state of love is Otway's expression for himself:

I look'd and gaz'd, and never miss'd my Heart  
It fled so pleasingly away. But now  
My Soul is all Lavinia's, now she's fixt  
Firm in my Heart by secret Vows made there,  
Th' indeleble Records of faithfull Love,  
You'd have me hate her. Can my Nature change?  
Create me o're agen . . . and I may be  
That haughty Master of my self you'd have me:  
Not as I am, the Slave of strong Desires,  
That keep me struggling under. Though I see  
The hopeless state of my unhappy Love,  
With Torment, like a stubborn Slave that lies  
Chain'd to the Floor, stretcht helpless on his back,  
I look to Liberty, and break my Heart.<sup>10</sup>

In letters and verse, we find echoes of this speech and others throughout the play: of his enslaved Nature, of recovering his Liberty, and of wearing her Chains.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Otway, Letter II in *Familiar Letters written by the Right Honourable John, Late Earl of Rochester, Thomas Otway, . . . and Others* (London, 1697).

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Otway, *Caius Marius* (London, 1680), Act I, Scene I, p. 9.

As much as one deprecates the changes in Shakespeare's play, *Caius Marius*, as it stands, gave Mistress Barry in the role of Lavinia her first full length portrait in tragedy. Mistress Betterton and Mary Lee were the leading tragic actresses in the company until *Caius Marius* was played. It is not chance that the role of Lavinia suited neither of them as it had been written by Otway, or that Elizabeth Barry just happened to be available in the company and just happened to play the part. Knowing as much as we do about Otway, the circumstances of his love for Mistress Barry, and the state of his hopes at the time he wrote and she played the part of Lavinia, we begin to see what part she played in changing the direction of English tragedy.

Although the role of Lavinia did not allow Mistress Barry to reach the heights of tragedy which she was to ascend in the next few years, it was a splendid beginning with its young love and tragic death. It differed completely from the usual turgid rants of the Circes, Roxanas, Cressidas, and Deidamias played by Mary Lee,<sup>11</sup> and the saccharine effusions of the Evandras, Andromaches, Florellas, and Timandras played by Mistress Betterton.<sup>12</sup> The well-spring of sincere emotion is found in Otway's letters and in each of his tragedies. Plays by other authors had as their themes all-powerful love, but compared to the purity of desire and absence of every other motive in life but that of selfless devotion, other plays resolve into a brutish contest between man and woman. In Otway, all love, all life is concentrated into frantic desire for the loved woman, unmixed with honor, duty, or thought. Paradoxically, therefore, honor and duty play a greater and gentler part in Otway's great tragedies than in those whose authors have announced love and honor as their theme. *Caius Marius* struck the first note of the new drama of which Mistress Barry was to be the recognized exponent for over three decades. It is here that she-tragedy started, with the emphasis upon love for one woman and the absence of every other motive in life. With an old play re-oriented in purpose, Otway showed the way to the new theme in Restoration drama with an actress capable of playing the parts he was to wing from his heart.

The success of Otway in "rifling Shakespeare of half a Play" for his *Caius Marius* must have emboldened Nahum Tate to take "the Heap of Jewels Unstrung and Unpolish'd," as he explains in the dedicatory epistle to his *King Lear*, and make the play that held the stage spellbound till the middle of Garrick's career. No one has supplied a more persuasive explanation for the rewriting of Shakespeare for the Restoration audience. Among his objections to the original text are: "Lear's real and Edgar's pretended Madness have so much of extravagant Nature" and "the Images and Language are so odd and surprizing." In all earnestness, he records in the prologue that he

Yet hopes, since in rich Shakespear's Soil it grew,  
 'Twill relish yet, with those whose Tasts are true,

and more to the point,

<sup>11</sup> Roxana in Portage's *The Siege of Babylon*; Cressida in Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*; Circe in Charles Davenant's *Circe*; Deidamia in Otway's *Alcibiades*.

<sup>12</sup> Evandra in Shadwell's *Timon of Athens*; Andromache in Banks' *The Destruction of Troy* and Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*; Florella in Aphra Behn's *Abdelazer*; Timandra in Otway's *Alcibiades*.



Why shou'd these Scenes lie hid, in which we find  
 What may at once divert and teach the Mind;  
 Morals were always proper for the Stage,  
 But are ev'n necessary in this Age.

As for the plot,

"Twas my good Fortune to light on one Expedient to rectifie what was wanting in the Regularity and Probability of the Tale, which was to run through the whole a Love betwixt Edgar and Cordelia, that never chang'd word with each other in the Original. This renders Cordelia's Indifference and her Father's Passion in the first Scene Probable . . . The Distress of the Story is evidently heightened by it; . . . This Method necessarily threw me to making the Tale conclude in a Success to the innocent distrest Persons. . . .

An examination of the plot of Tate's version will bring to light several facts: one, that Nahum Tate was neither a Shakespeare nor an Otway, and second, that his re-hash shows even more than *Caius Marius* the growing female dominance in tragedy. The play in our eyes may be a travesty on Shakespeare's mad Lear and noble Cordelia. Its historical importance, however, lies in the fact that not Lear and his madness but the female figure, Cordelia, and her Tate-given love for Edgar constitute the core of the play. As it comes to its farcical end, Lear chants:

Cordelia then shall be a Queen, mark that:  
 Cordelia shall be Queen; Winds catch the Sound  
 And bear it on your Rosie Wings to Heav'n:  
 Cordelia is a Queen.

Edgar's final speech should be proof enough that with the presentation of *Caius Marius* in 1679 and *King Lear* in 1681, feminine drama, with Elizabeth Barry as its interpreter, had arrived in full force. Edgar proclaims:

Our drooping Country now erects her Head,  
 Peace spreads her balmy Wings, and Plenty Blooms.  
 Divine Cordelia, all the Gods can witness  
 How much thy Love to Empire I prefer!  
 Thy bright Example shall convince the World  
 (Whatever Storms of Fortune are decreed)  
 That Truth and Vertue shall at last succeed.<sup>13</sup>

Paradoxical as it may seem, it is possible that the preservation of Shakespeare even in garbled form during the Restoration period made certain his present reputation. Specifically why this is true is to be found, not in contemporary seventeenth-century critical accounts, but in theatrical ephemerae: Davenant, "god-son" and youthful idolator of the regular visitor to the inn at Oxford, transmitted his love and respect for Shakespeare to Thomas Betterton, the ideal repository for theatrical lore and practice; and we do not have to wait for Garrick to see Shakespeare idolized. After Davenant's death in 1668, it was the long-lived actor-manager who meticulously preserved the acting traditions handed down by John Taylor, the actor whom Shakespeare himself, according

<sup>13</sup> Nahum Tate, *The History of King Lear* (London, 1681), Act V, p. 67.



to legend, had coached in the role of Hamlet. It was Betterton who owned what is now known as the Chandos portrait of Shakespeare. It was he who honored the great playwright in the most effective manner in his power by re-creating the magnificent roles so that they might mean in the Restoration age what they had meant to the Elizabethan period. Shakespeare became the lodestar to which the aspiring writers of tragedy turned, but since morals and modes and even language had changed, it was necessary for playwrights to interpret Shakespeare according to the lights of actors and audience. Furthermore, to the student of theatrical history, "improv'd" Shakespearian plays are the means by which to understand the most important change to take place in drama after Shakespeare's time. Otway's *Caius Marius* and Tate's *King Lear* record unmistakeably the shift from the male to the female play which continues to dominate drama today. To argue the value of Restoration "improvements" without awareness of this fact is to criticize plays in an artistic vacuum, from the vantage point of the armchair only.

*Barnard College*

Lancaster St. East  
Oct 18. 1785.

Mr Malone presents his Compliments  
to Mr Rivington. The Dealer, Mr Hall  
is the gentleman who has engaged  
the large head of Shakespeare, for  
the large octavo edition of now printing  
under the care of Mr Reed.

The head, as Mr Nichols informed  
Mr M, yesterday, is worked off, &  
see the impressions he supposes  
delivered either to Mr Rivington  
or to Mr Robinson.

The terms agreed on were 30 guineas

MALONE'S EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE, 1790.

Autograph letter from Edmund Malone to Mr. Rivington, introducing Mr. Hall, who for 30 guineas improved "the large head of Shakespeare, for the large octavo edition [of 1790] now printing under the care of M<sup>r</sup> Reed." This is the second edition of Malone. See also page 367.

# Shakespeare's Gentle Hours

PAUL ELMEN

**T**HE fifth sonnet in the 1609 quarto, while asserting the similarity between the seasons of the year and the life of man, suggests also that the human spirit may in the end be freed from the inexorable demands of nature. In the octave, Shakespeare points out to his young friend that the essential mood of time should not be determined by the character of spring and summer, but by the character of winter. Time is, despite its friendly show, man's enemy:

Those howers that with gentle worke did frame,  
The louely gaze where euery eye doth dwell  
Will play the tyrants to the very same,  
And that vnfaire which fairely doth excell:  
For neuer resting time leads Summer on,  
To hidious winter and confounds him there,  
Sap checkt with frost and lustie leau's quite gon.<sup>1</sup>

In the sestet a strategy is proposed by which at least a provisional victory may be won over time's devastations. Shakespeare is not disposed at this point to advance the solution which appears in Sonnet 15—the hope of immortality through rhyme. The young man is advised in Sonnet 5 to ensure his own preservation by establishing a posterity. A quaint figure, borrowed from Sidney's *Arcadia*, implies that as rosewater kept in a glass vial preserves the substance if not the appearance of flowers, so the young man may defy old age and death if children survive him:

Then were not summers distillation left  
A liquid prisoner pent in walls of glasse,  
Beauties effect with beauty were bereft,  
Nor it nor noe remembrance where it was.  
But flowers distil'd though they with winter meete,  
Leese but their show, their substance still liues sweet.<sup>2</sup>

The war against time is a Renaissance commonplace which deserves our interest because it illustrates the new curiosity about the possibility of human development within the limits of human history; for the medieval preoccupation was rather with the ideal which transcends the vagaries of the temporal

<sup>1</sup> All quotations from the sonnets are from *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, The Sonnets*, ed. Hyder Edward Rollins (Philadelphia, 1944).

<sup>2</sup> The perfume image probably came from Sidney's *Arcadia* (T. W. Baldwin, *The Literary Genetics of Shakespeare's Poems & Sonnets* [Urbana, 1930], pp. 194 ff.)

process. But the theme is treated so often in the Elizabethan sonnet cycles that when we encounter it once more in Shakespeare we are prepared to sympathize with his lament, expressed in Sonnet 76,

Why is my verse so barren of new pride?  
So far from variation or quicke change?

However, finding the commonplace matter in the sonnets, whatever it can tell us about the characteristic moods of the Renaissance, helps us not at all to understand what is more properly a Shakespearian quality: his habit of presenting unexpected insights to the careful reader who is not disarmed by what seems to be a familiar pattern of words. A clue to the novelty that is so obviously his lies in his warning that "all my best is dressing old words new," and that he has "look'd at truth/Askance and strangely."

If the reader will examine Sonnet 5 with this warning in mind, he will discover that the word *hours* probably makes a concealed reference to the *Hora*e, goddesses of the seasons in Greek mythology. Editors have passed by the first line hurriedly, assuming that the meaning is clear on its face; there has been general agreement with J. Q. Adams that the word means "passing hours," which are explained in line 5 as "neuer resting time."<sup>3</sup> To be sure, George Simpson, anxious that every line of Shakespeare should have its own implausible gloss, said in 1868 that *hours* is an echo from a lecture by Tasso found in some editions of Casa's poems, and refers to the rational and the irrational life;<sup>4</sup> but this is to read Shakespeare strangely, indeed, and editors have received his announcement in silence. Yet Simpson had correctly observed—possibly from the position of *hours* in the first line, or from its dissyllabic pronunciation—that the word might have meanings which were not exhausted by a simple extension of its reference to *time*. If the word could be shown to contain a classical referent, we should be provided with a new example of the subauditions which enrich the sonnet texture.

The Hours have had an uncertain ancestry and a varied function in the literature of the world; they may be said to be ritual figures without a real mythology.<sup>5</sup> In earliest times they were invested with ethical powers. Homer, for example, speaks of them as keepers of heaven's gate, and says also that they roll aside the veil of the clouds from the gate of Olympus. Hesiod says that they are daughters of Justice, and that their names are Eunomia (Order), Dike (Right), and Eirene (Peace).<sup>6</sup> Later they suffered a degradation and were thought of as attendants who performed menial tasks for various deities such as Aphrodite, Apollo, and Titan. Ovid, for example, says that "when Titan saw . . . the world grow red, and the slender horns of the waning moon fading from sight, he bade the swift Hours to yoke his steeds."<sup>7</sup>

Gradually, however, the Hours became more specifically associated with the changing seasons, and especially with the arrival of spring; they were

<sup>3</sup> *Variorum Sonnets*, I, 17.

<sup>4</sup> *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Shakespeare's Sonnets* (London, 1868), pp. 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> For a full discussion of their history see Dr. A. Jolles' article in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1913), and the shorter account in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1949).

<sup>6</sup> *Iliad* V. 749; VIII. 393; *Hesiod*, trans. H. G. Evelyn-White (London, 1914), p. 145.

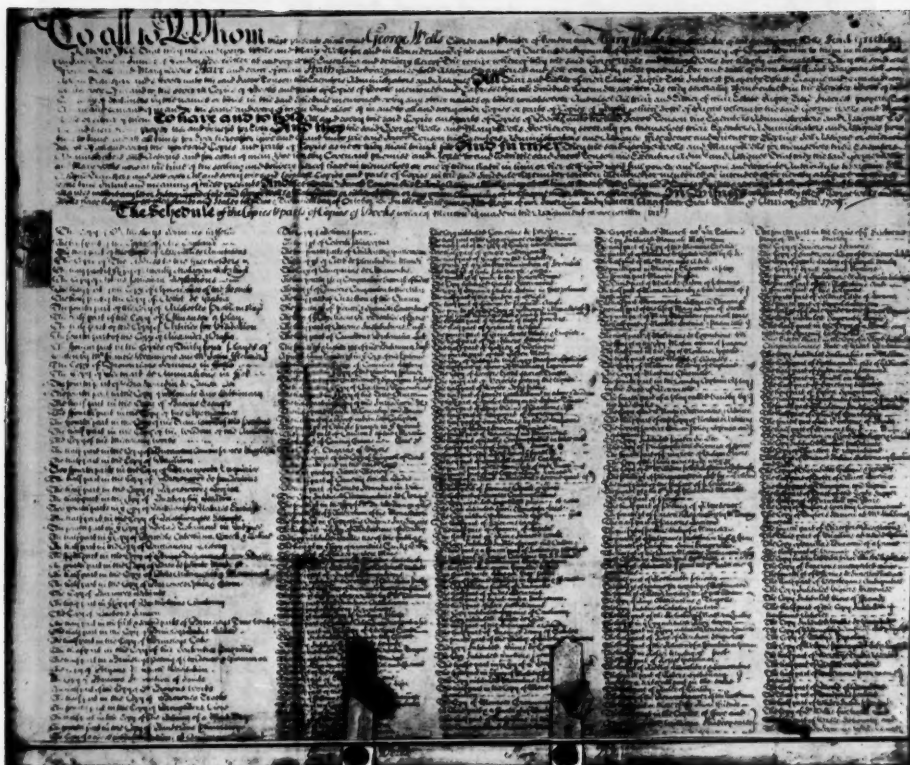
<sup>7</sup> *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, trans. F. J. Miller (London, 1928), I. 69.

I know all Men by these presents, That I  
William Warburton Master of Arts, Rector of Brent  
Broughton in Lincolnshire, for and in consideration  
of the sum of Five hundred pounds of lawful money of  
Great Britain to me in hand paid by Jacob Tonson  
Citizen & Stationer of London for himself and the other  
proprietors of the copy right of Shakespeares plays, the  
receipt whereof, I do hereby confess and acknowledge  
Have granted, bargained, sold, assigned, transferred,  
set over, and by these presents do Grant, bargain,  
sell, assign, transfer and set over, unto the said  
Jacob Tonson, his Executors, Administrators and  
assigns, all the full and sole right and title of in  
and to the copy of the Notes, Corrections, emendations  
Preface and other additions, which I have made to  
the plays of the said Shakespear, And all my  
Copy-right, Interest and Claim of, in or to the same  
and every part thereof, To have and to hold the same  
and every part thereof unto the said Jacob Tonson  
his Executors, Administrators and assigns, for the  
benefit of himself, and the other Proprietors of  
the Copy-right of the said Shakespeares plays, as his  
and their own proper Goods and Chattels for ever.  
In Witnesse whereof I have hereunto set my hand  
and Seal this twenty fourth day of January in  
the twentieth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord  
George the Second, and in the year of our Lord One  
Thousand seven hundred and forty six.

Signed, sealed and delivered  
(being first duly stamped)  
in the presence of W. Warburton  
Notary attest Thomas Taylor

WARBURTON'S EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE, 1747.

Agreement between the Rev. William Warburton (later Bishop of Gloucester) for the transfer of copyright of the edition to Jacob Tonson and others upon payment of £500. The dark spot after Warburton's signature is a wax impression of his seal. See also page 367.



### TRANSFER OF SHAKESPEARE COPYRIGHTS

Manuscript agreement on vellum of the assignment by George and Mary Wells to Jacob Tonson, upon payment of £100, of their rights in over 300 books, including (at foot of column 4) "the half part in the Copies of five and Twenty of M<sup>r</sup> William Shakespeares Playes." See also page 367.



the deities which made the plants grow, and were usually portrayed as helping the quiet germinations of March, April, and May in company with the three Graces. "Clearly seen," says Pindar, "are the bright symbols of sacred rights, whensoever, at the opening of the chamber of the purple-robed Hours, the fragrant Spring bringeth the nectar-breathing plants. Then, oh then, are flung on the immortal earth the lovely tresses of violets, and roses are entwined in the hair."<sup>8</sup> *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* cites examples from Hesiod, Pindar, Pausanias, and Moschus which show the Hours as welcome guests at marriage feasts of Olympians and heroes. Botticelli's "Spring," which shows them strewing the ground with flowers in company with the Graces, expressed what had become by the sixteenth century their most familiar function. Throughout their long and varied history they had been thought of as pleasant, minor deities, associated in a decorative if not a precise way with fecundity and the coming of beauty. They provided a vivid way of saying that nature was, at least in one of her moods, friendly to man.

Did the Elizabethans know the classical Hours? The editors of the *NED* say that the earliest reference known to them is in Milton's *Comus*, which appeared in 1634; but references to them in English literature were common, as I shall show, many years before that time. The Hours appeared as part of the attendants about the throne of Phoebus in Arthur Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1593); and Golding's epistle to the reader even attempts an explanation of how they came to be considered divine. As a result of the Fall, he says, faith degenerated into superstition, and people personified natural phenomena to satisfy their religious longings:

The night and day, the fleeting howres, the  
seasons of the yeere,  
And euerie strange and monstrous thing for  
Gods mistaken were.<sup>9</sup>

Though the Puritans might be suspicious of them, the Hours inspired one of the loveliest passages in Spenser's *Epithalamion* (1595). He speaks of them as rulers of the seasons, and then extends their province to all that is fair:

But first come ye fayre houres which were begot  
In Ioues sweet paradise, of Day and Night,  
Which doe the seasons of the year allot,  
And al that euer in this world is fayre  
Doe make and still repayre.<sup>10</sup> (ll. 98-102)

Together with the Graces, the Hours help the bride to don her wedding dress; and when we read of the "many gazers as on her do stare," we are reminded of the work of the hours in Shakespeare's sonnet, who help to create "the louely gaze where euery eye doth dwell." In the *Faerie Queene* (1596), Spenser follows Homer and makes the Hours watchers of heaven's gate:

<sup>8</sup> "Fragments" in *The Odes of Pindar*, trans. Sir John Sandys (London, 1915), p. 555.

<sup>9</sup> *The XV. Bookes of P. Ouidius Naso, Entitled, Metamorphoses* (London, 1593), sig. B1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> *The Works of Edmund Spenser, A Variorum Edition*, eds. Edwin Greenlaw, C. G. Osgood, F. M. Padelford, Ray Heffner (Baltimore, 1947), II, 243. Henry Gibbons Lotspeich says that this function of the Hours was not suggested by classical sources (*Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser* [Princeton, 1932], p. 70). See also W. B. C. Watkins, *Shakespeare & Spenser* (Princeton, 1950), pp. 68-74.



Then came the *Howres*, faire daughters of high *Ioue*,  
 And timely *Night*, the which were all endewed  
 With wondrous beauty fit to kindle loue;  
 But they were Virgins all, and loue eschewed,  
 That might forslack the charge to them fore-shewed  
 By mighty *Ioue*; who did them Porters make  
 Of heauens gate (whence all the gods issued)  
 Which they did dayly watch, and nightly wake  
 By euen turnes, ne euer did their charge forsake.<sup>11</sup> (VII. vii. xlv)

Ben Jonson mentioned the Hours at least three times. They sit over the porch in the masque, *The Entertainment of the Two Kings*, which was presented on July 24, 1606.<sup>12</sup> Peace, "one of the Hours," sings a song in *The Vision of Delight*, which was performed at court during the Christmas season in 1617.<sup>13</sup> In *The Staple of News* (1626), Jonson introduces the Hours as attendants on Aphrodite.<sup>14</sup> Continuing their tradition as characters in masques, James Shirley has the three Hours, Irene, Diche, and Eunomia appear in a chariot and sing a song in his *Triumph of Peace* (1633).

Learned Elizabethans would probably recognize a reference to the classical Hours; but is there evidence that Shakespeare himself knew them? Two passages in the plays suggest the possibility, though the references are not obvious. In the *Merchant of Venice* he wrote, "Fair thoughts and happy hours attend on you!" (III. iv. 44). In *Antony and Cleopatra*, the reference seems more clear: "Now for the love of Love and her soft hours" (I. i. 44). Since the Hours were thought of as attendants, frequently in the company of Aphrodite, these references may contain a classical allusion; but unfortunately the context does not help us.

It is possible to turn from these indecisive instances to an example of Shakespeare's use which cannot be questioned. On September 20-23, 1591, Queen Elizabeth, while on a Progress, was entertained by the Earl of Hertford at Elvetham Hall, in Hampshire. On October 1, the Stationers' Register recorded a book which gave a full account of the festivities.<sup>15</sup> Between five and six o'clock in the evening, so this account stated, the Queen entered Elvetham Park, and when she was half way between the gate and the house, a Poet saluted her with a Latin oration in heroic verse. According to the anonymous historian,

While the Poet was pronouncing this oration, six Virgins were behind him, busily remouing blockes out of her maiesties way; which blockes were supposed to be layde there by the person of *Enuie*, whose condition is, to enuie at euery good thing, but especially to malice the proceedings of *Vertue*, and the glory of true *Maiestie*. Three of these Virgins represented the three

<sup>11</sup> *Works*, VI, 177.

<sup>12</sup> *Works*, eds. C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, Evelyn Simpson (Oxford, 1941), VII, 145-150.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 463-471.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 273-381.

<sup>15</sup> "j die Octobris (1591) John Wolf Entred for his copie, the honorable enteriaynement gyven to the queenes maiestie in progresse at Elvetham in Hampshire by the righte honorable the Erle of Hertford" (*A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A. D.*, ed. Edward Arber [London, 1875], II, 596). See F. M. Padelford's note in Spenser's *Works*, VI and VII, 309. The tract is reprinted in John Nichols, *The Progresses, and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1823), III, 101-121; in *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. Warwick Bond (Oxford, 1902), I, 431-452; and is paraphrased in G. B. Harrison, *The Elizabethan Journals* (New York, 1939), pp. 54-58.

*Graces*, and the other three, the *Hours*, which by the Poets are fained to be the guardians of heaven gates. They were all attired in gowns of taffata sarcenet of diuers colours, with flowrie garlands on their heads, and baskets full of sweet hearbs and flowers vpon their armes. When the Poets speach was happily ended, . . . then these sixe Virgins after performance of their humble reuerence to her highnesse, walked on before her towards the house, strewing the way with flowers, and singing a sweete song.<sup>16</sup>

The fact may not have escaped people who were present, or who read the book, that the reception was held late on a September afternoon, and consequently that the Hours, traditionally associated with the bright spring time, were for all their good intentions ironic reminders that night would soon fall, and the winter would come, and old age would not hesitate to mar with wrinkles even a royal brow.

Shakespeare, if he read the book, or was present at the occasion or heard about it from friends, might have observed the irony in this ceremony and remembered it when he had occasion to speak of the essential cruelty of time; but first we must know that he was acquainted with the Progress at Elvetham. The author of the tract on the festivities says that the Earl of Hertford had built an artificial pond for the occasion, and part of the program was presented there. According to E. K. Chambers, a passage in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was inspired by this program:

[Oberon] sat upon a promontory,  
And heard a mermaid on a dolphin's back  
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,  
That the rude sea grew civil at her song,  
And certain stars shot madly from their spheres,  
To hear the sea-maid's music.<sup>17</sup> (II. i. 149-154)

That there is in these lines a reference to the water show at Elvetham seems possible; there is, however, a passage in *Love's Labour's Lost* which more clearly supports Chambers' belief, though the connection has not previously been observed. Berowne and King Ferdinand are planning an entertainment for the French women, and Berowne says,

First from the Park let us conduct them thither,  
Then homeward every man attach the hand  
Of his fair mistress, in the afternoon  
We will with some strange pastime solace them  
Such as the shortness of the time can shape  
For revels, dances, masks and merry hours  
Forerun fair Love, strewing her way with flowers.  
(IV. iii. 374-380)

There can be no doubt that Shakespeare knew the gracious Horae. Like Ben Jonson, he seems to have thought of them as attendants of Aphrodite, who prepare a suitable path for Love by strewing her way with flowers. It is only a guess, but the reception of the Queen at Elvetham seems to be the model that

<sup>16</sup> Lyly's *Works*, I, 439.

<sup>17</sup> *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1916), I, 103. A woodcut of the Great Pond at Elvetham is found in some copies of *The Honorable Entertainment* (W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration* [London, 1939], I, 176).

he had in mind. In any case, what is established is that he knew about the mythology of the Hours, and that he could count on at least some of his readers to recognize a muted reference to the shy and lovely virgins of Greece.

More important than these initial presumptions in favor of the proposed interpretation in Sonnet 5, is the fact that the sonnet context supports the suggested meaning. The customary gloss misses a point which Shakespeare was eager to make. It was his intention that his friend should notice the ambiguous character of time. On the one hand, time brought fulfillment, changing the awkward boy into a youth who excelled all others in fairness. The future was full of promise. A characteristic notion of the Renaissance was that historical possibilities had only begun to be explored, and that more hope lay in the fecund womb of time than the medieval theorists had thought possible. If the young man procrastinated because he thought time was on his side, he did no more than share the buoyant attitude of many Englishmen after the dark year of 1588 had come and gone, and the future lay before them like a path strewn with flowers. But perhaps it is a delusion common to youth in all periods that time means fulfillment, since the passing of the days and the years brings in their own experience growth and strength and ripening beauty. It was this conception of time as creation that the Hours were particularly fitted to symbolize.

Yet there was another aspect of time which Shakespeare thought more descriptive of its ultimate character, and that was the conception of time as destruction.<sup>18</sup> The gentle Hours have a reputation of helpfulness, but their intention is to deceive us. So far from being really gentle, they

Will play the tyrants to the very same,  
And that vnfaire which fairely doth excell.

It is ironical that the gracious virgins of picture and song are in reality agents of tragedy. They will blunt the lion's paws, pluck the keen teeth from the tiger's jaws, and make the earth devour the family of men. Despite the bland optimism of youth, time annuls rather than fulfills the historic process, growth yields inevitably to decay, and promise becomes in the end betrayal. If we ripe and ripe, we also rot and rot.

By a premature identification of *hours* with *passing hours*, the force of this contrast between the contradictory functions of time is obscured. It is precisely because the young man has confused all time with the gentle Hours that he is unprepared for the prospect of decay, and takes no steps to prolong his ephemeral beauty. Recognizing the word as metaphoric for one aspect of time throws light upon the sonnet context. The Hours proceed "with gentle work" because, as Theocritus pointed out, they are "the slowest of the Blest."<sup>19</sup> They are not at all like "swift-footed time," whose work is so ruthless. The meaning of the word *frame* suddenly becomes clear, for one definition of the word, according

<sup>18</sup> Time is the nurse and breeder of all good in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. i. 243; but elsewhere time brings forth both good and evil, as in *Lucrece*, 257; *Winter's Tale*, IV. i. 2; and in Sonnet 60 (cited by Baldwin, *Literary Genetics*, pp. 213-214).

<sup>19</sup> Idyll XV, 11. 103 ff. *Theocritus, Bion and Moschus*, trans. Andrew Lang (London, 1924), p. 82. A. S. F. Gow translates βάρυστοι μακάρων as "tardiest of the Blessed Ones" (*Theocritus* [Cambridge, 1950], I, 111). But Lang's translation seems preferable.

to the *NED*, is "to prepare, make ready for use"; and this is an appropriate way of describing the function of the Horae in heralding the nuptial feast.

Because of the traditional association of the Hours with Aphrodite, their presence is fitting in a poem in praise of love. The fact that time is personified as a tyrant in line three should have suggested the unlikelihood that it is an abstraction in line one. References to summer and winter later in the sonnet follow naturally upon the introduction of the goddesses of the seasons. Perhaps the perfume image in the sestet seems less labored if we recall that the Hours scatter the flowers which time methodically destroys—except for those which foresighted people have changed into perfume. The argument of the sonnet—the reason why a young man should marry—is happily expressed by a furtive reference to the Horae, whose frequent presence at marriage feasts was a classical commonplace. Bringing to the surface such submerged associations clarifies and vivifies the sonnet, because they make clear the function of several elements which have seemed to resist fusion with the rest of the poem.

Recovering this metaphor also gives us a new regard for Shakespeare's conscious artistry. We see him considering the young man's (and our own) identification of the Hours and passing time, and rejecting the transfer on rhetorical grounds. He did not, perhaps, reject Hours as a symbol of time on the grounds that the two ideas treated as one are in some ways different. The psychic resistance which we feel to all metaphors was known to the serious Elizabethan literary craftsmen. George Puttenham described this tension in 1589:

As figures be but the instruments of oratory in euery language, so be they also in a sorte abuses or rather trespasses in speach, because they passe the ordinary limits of common vtterance, and be occupied of purpose to deceiue the eare and also the minde, drawing it from plainnesse and simplicitie to a certaine doublenesse, whereby our talke is the more guilefull & abusing, for what els is *Metaphor* but an inuersion of sence by transport?<sup>20</sup>

But surely Shakespeare objected to the identification of Hours and all time not so much because of the "doublenesse," since this is common to all metaphors. As Rosemond Tuve has pointed out, sixteenth-century rhetorical theory was concerned with the nature of the relationship implied—its aptness and proportion, for example—rather than with any difficulties in the identity of the vehicle and tenor as such.<sup>21</sup>

Shakespeare objected to the Hours as symbols of time because they did justice to only one aspect of time, and in this case the one aspect of time which he was intent upon exposing. His success with metaphors may be at least partly explained by noticing the painstaking way in which he examined the scope of figurative comparison. "Shall I compare thee to a Summers day?" he asked in Sonnet 18. The comparison has often been made, just as Hours had often been used to personify time; but the metaphor in both cases is faulty in scope, and he answers his own question, "Thou art more louely and more temperate." By a rhetorical confusion the young man seemed about to dissipate the sense of the tragic in life, and since time is never ending and would before long assert

<sup>20</sup> *The Arte of English Poetrie* (1589), eds. Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge, 1936), p. 154.

<sup>21</sup> See William Empson's qualified acceptance of I. A. Richards' theory of "Disparity Action" in *The Structure of Complex Words* (Norfolk, Conn., 1951), p. 332.

its tyranny, the young man would be led in the end to despair. However sentimental we might judge the solution of redemption by posterity, the resolution had at least the merit of beginning with a realistic appraisal of time.

Nevertheless, we are not in position to appreciate Shakespeare's rejection of the Hours-time metaphor if we have never observed that such a comparison could be made.<sup>22</sup> It is our loss that *hours* in Sonnet 5 should have become petrified, having lost the poetic vitality which it had as long as its traditional associations survived. We are left with a sonnet which, despite its verbal felicities, seems barren of new pride. It is still, of course, a great sonnet. The concealed trope is not presented here as a central meaning because the ingenuous, as opposed to the ingenious reader, could understand *hours* as *passing hours*, and yet have no doubt about the basic meaning of the sonnet. The literal meaning provides poetry enough, and it was obviously not Shakespeare's intention that the metaphoric meaning should thrust itself upon our attention. Consequently the association with classical mythology must be considered as secondary meaning which makes the sonnet a more interesting poem.

The position of *hours* in Sonnet 5 must then be reconsidered. If the central image in the sonnet is the "flowers distil'd" figure of the sestet, the preliminary image of the changing seasons simply describes the human plight for which some solution ought to be found. The poet's central concern is that the analogy between "flowers distil'd" and children should not be lost. He is therefore content, as we have been, that the rude movement of meaning be served by identifying *hours* with *time*; but he must have hoped that some of his readers would notice that he had dressed an old word new, and that with the slightest of shifts a poem that promised to be trite turns out to be rich with reference to the goddesses of the friendly seasons. We then observe his important distinction that the substance of time is not the same as its show, and are prepared for the "summers distillation" which preserves the substance of flowers at the expense of their show.

It would be a service to our critical practice if the status of such subauditions could be more precisely determined. Clearly they should not be magnified in importance by scholars who, flown by the excitement of research, ransack the literary and the non-literary attics of the Elizabethans to exploit the radical metaphoric quality of most words. Such industry too easily results in an immersion in the details of the poetic texture to the forgetfulness of the poetic structure, and in the end destroys the artistic unity of the sonnet. Putting an obvious meaning of a word on the same plane as an elusive undertone can only earn a justifiable rebuke from those to whom any detailed criticism is anathema.

It is the text, of course, that will save us; but the text is a more complicated document than for centuries it seemed to be. The license for ambiguity in the Shakespearean word extends to a longer series of variable factors than an editor's easy gloss can take into account. The practice proposed is that sub-

<sup>22</sup> On the manner in which metaphors become ordinary appellations, see F. Max Müller, *The Science of Thought* (London, 1887), pp. 488 ff.; Stephen J. Brown, S.J., *The World of Imagery* (London, 1927), pp. 38-41; and Gustaf Stern, *Meaning and Change of Meaning* (Gothenburg, 1931), p. 309. What is lost in this process is more than an ornament. As I. A. Richards observes, "In many of the most important uses of metaphor, the copresence of the vehicle and tenor results in a meaning . . . which is not attainable without their interaction" (*The Philosophy of Rhetoric* [New York, 1936], p. 100).

sidary meanings should be recognized when they are functional, that is to say, when they throw significant light upon the poem as a whole. If we are to be spared ingenious anachronisms, it would be well if we could see the meaning in use in the literature of the time, and better still, in Shakespeare's other works. But a meaning may be none the less Shakespeare's because it occurs nowhere else, in his own works or in those of his contemporaries; and so the final test must be the extent to which it develops or frustrates the whole effect of the poem.

It is surely worth while to recover such suggestive connotations; but their subordinate role in the semasiological structure should always be remembered. Coleridge's words, uttered in another connection, provide a useful critical formula: "The play of assimilation, the meaning one sense chiefly, and yet keeping both senses in view, is perfectly Shakespearian."<sup>23</sup> The resources of all the various types of scholarship and criticism are needed to explore the protean sonnet meaning. Even the most innocent of Shakespeare's words, like *hours*, must be approached with something of the awe which he felt towards his friend:

What is your substance, whereof are you made,  
That millions of strange shadows on you tend?

*Northwestern University*

<sup>23</sup> *Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare and Other Dramatists* (London, 1931), p. 123.

# *Paid the Editors of Shakespeare.*

*This is the sum of money paid by Mr. Jacob Tonson, Publisher, to the Editors of Shakespeare's Works, as per the following Account.*

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Mr. Hughes	28:7:—
Mr. Pope - Money	160:—:—
Do Books	57:12:—
Mr. Fenton Money	21:—:—
Do Books	9:12:—
Mr. Gay - Money	31:3:6
Do Books	4:16:—
Mr. Whatley	12:—:—
Mr. Theobald 400 on Demy & no Roy al. and worth about	600:—:—
Do. 2 <sup>d</sup> . Edition	52:10:0
	<hr/>
	913:10:6
Bishop Warburton	500
Capells	300
Johnson 250 Books	250:10:—
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## PAYMENTS TO EDITORS OF SHAKESPEARE.

Memorandum of about 1740 of sums paid by Jacob Tonson, publisher, to the early editors of Shakespeare. The total is incorrect because of an error in the amount paid to Pope. The intent was to correct the partial payment of £60 to £100 (see page 367), but whoever inserted the numeral "1" failed to alter "6" to "0".

A later hand has noted what Warburton, Capell, and Johnson were paid.



# Stage Business in Shakespeare's Dialogue

WARREN D. SMITH



A marked contrast to modern drama, Shakespeare's plays contain nearly three thousand directions for stage business (action performed without shifting position) in the dialogue<sup>1</sup> compared to fewer than three hundred marginal notations<sup>2</sup> in the basic texts. Most of these are spoken too late<sup>3</sup> to have served as instructions for the actors, and many that precede the action are impractical as cues because instead of helping the recipients, they place additional demands upon them.<sup>4</sup> Yet once we picture the Elizabethan performance as viewed from three sides of the projecting platform, rather than from out front as in modern theaters, the practical stagecraft underlying the preponderance of dialogue directions readily emerges from artistic concealment. As italicized notations in modern drama texts are often really descriptions of gestures for the reader, who, of course, cannot otherwise perceive the action, so, I am convinced, Shakespeare's directions in the dialogue, along with those of his contemporaries,<sup>5</sup> are actually descriptions for those spectators who could not be expected at the moment to see clearly the action on the stage of the Elizabethan public playhouse. Some members of an audience that surrounded three

<sup>1</sup> By plays, the number ranges from 35, in *Timon of Athens*, to 138, in *Julius Caesar*, with no significant fluctuation in frequency according to period.

<sup>2</sup> Moreover, at least one modern producer, Margaret Webster, found the directions in the dialogue to be far more helpful than the marginal notations. See her *Shakespeare without Tears* (New York, 1942), pp. 43-45.

<sup>3</sup> Of the 2,928 directions I count in the plays, fewer than 880 actually precede the action to which they allude. Furthermore, much stage business and practically all stage movement is performed without any accompanying verbal description (for the explanation, see below, pp. 314).

<sup>4</sup> For example, Tybalt's challenge to Romeo, "turn and draw" (*Romeo and Juliet* III. i. 70) must assume that the actor in the part of Romeo has remembered (without the help of a cue) to face the other way before Tybalt delivers it (see also *Macbeth* V. viii.3 and *The Winter's Tale* V. iii. 120). Likewise, in *Richard II* (III. ii. 87), Aumerle, Carlisle, Salisbury, and some soldiers must remember (without a cue) to bow their heads preceding Richard's, "Look not to the ground." Even more impractical as cues are directions which are repeated because the recipients delay performing them (see below, p. 313 and n. 15), since a player cannot be expected to ignore the first "cue" and act only after he has received a second or third.

<sup>5</sup> Almost as consistent as Shakespeare's plays in the employment of descriptions of stage business, for example, are Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*, Chapman's *Gentleman Usher*, and Massinger's *Maid of Honor*. I have also been struck by the regular occurrence of the device in Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, *David and Bethsabe*, and *Old Wives Tale*; Greene's *Orlando Furioso* and *Frier Bacon*; Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and *Edward II*; Dekker's *Shoemakers' Holiday*, *Old Fortunatus*, and *Honest Whore*; Heywood's *Woman Killed with Kindness*, *Wise Woman*, and *Fair Maid*; Jonson's *Every Man out*, *Sejanus*, *Volpone*, *Alchemist*, and *Bartholomew Fair*; Middleton's *Trick to Catch the Old One* and *Michaelmas Term*; Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*, *Maid's Tragedy*, and *King and No King*; Massinger's *New Way to Pay Old Debts*; and Ford's *Love's Sacrifice*, *'Tis Pity, Broken Heart*, and *Perkin Warbeck*. Indeed, the convention seems to permeate the whole era, appearing in at least as early a play as *Cambises* and in as late a one as Bromé's *Jovial Crew*.

sides of the stage normally must have been blocked from seeing stage business either by the back of the performer or by the bodies of one or more intervening players. A vital function of the dramatist's dialogue descriptions, then, was to supply the information required whenever some important action was masked from part of the audience by the back of a player or by the intervening body of another on the Elizabethan three-sided public stage.

That this was the case is clearly demonstrated, I believe, in Shakespeare's consistent practice of naming, though frequently with dramatic effectiveness, stage properties<sup>6</sup> large enough and distinctive enough<sup>7</sup> to be seen and identified from any part of a modern theater. Even so unobtrusive an example as Macbeth's dramatically appropriate outcry to the three witches, "Why sinks that cauldron?" (*Macbeth* IV. i. 106),<sup>8</sup> includes the practical function, I feel, of informing those spectators who could not see it easily at the moment that this property was about to disappear, probably through a trapdoor. For on the Elizabethan platform stage, unless Macbeth and the three witches placed themselves at the extreme rear, against the tiring-house wall, with the cauldron well in front of them, an unlikely grouping, one or more of the actors' bodies would have at least partly masked the cauldron, sizable as it was, from the view of some members of the audience. A kettle either to one side of all four players or between them, obviously, would have been obstructed from the vision of spectators located at one of the sides of the projecting platform. And if the group stood downstage (toward the front end of the deep platform) any distance with the cauldron in front of them, spectators located in positions upstage from them would have difficulty seeing it. Thus Macbeth refers specifically to the sinking cauldron in part, at least, for the benefit of members of his audience temporarily blocked from a clear view of it. That he could carry off his speech naturally is irrelevant. The point is that the arrangement of his playhouse alone justified the dramatist in writing the description. By the same token, when Richard says to the gentleman who defends Anne in *Richard III*, "Advance thy halberd higher than my breast," (I. ii. 40), he is serving the dramaturgical function of informing spectators masked from the action that the First Gentleman is at that instant pointing his halberd, a second property large enough to identify in a theater with unobstructed sight lines, at him. And in *Richard II* (I. i. 69), Bolingbroke names the gage<sup>9</sup> he throws at the foot of Mowbray partly because it would be masked from spectators facing either his own back or Mowbray's. So too, when Imogen moves upstage toward the cave (very likely the inner stage) in *Cymbeline*,<sup>10</sup> she specifically announces, twice within the scope of two lines (III. vi. 25-26), that now she has her sword out, partly for the perception of spectators who face her back. Indeed, the drawing of

<sup>6</sup> I count 572 property identifications.

<sup>7</sup> Distance alone, of course, would have justified the naming of properties as small as rings, keys, and handkerchiefs.

<sup>8</sup> All quotations are modernized according to G. L. Kittredge, ed., *Complete Works*, Boston, 1936.

<sup>9</sup> In *Richard II* the gage, a glove which when thrown at the feet of an opponent signifies a challenge to combat, is named in the dialogue every time it is brought into use.

<sup>10</sup> That Shakespeare continued to employ the convention in his last three romances, performed at Blackfriars where the audience is presumed to have faced the front of the stage, is not surprising. Among the arguments for not dropping it is the generally accepted fact that the romances were written for the public Globe stage as well.

swords is always accompanied in the plays by a specific announcement.<sup>11</sup>

What pertains to the clear perception of properties equally applies, of course, to the comprehension of stage business performed without them. Thus to guarantee that spectators on all three sides of his platform stage simultaneously will perceive the by-play between Hermione and Polixenes in *The Winter's Tale*, as well as to call attention to the reaction of the jealous husband, Shakespeare has Leontes describe the action, as it occurs, in detail.<sup>12</sup> Likewise the bodies of actors surely would have obstructed the vision of widely scattered groups of spectators during a crowded scene like the blinding of Gloucester in *King Lear*, making the successive descriptive comments which appear in the dialogue (III. vii. 67-85) practical. Equally essential is the descriptive line in *Macbeth* delivered as Lady Macbeth begins to wring her hands while sleep-walking. Despite his preceding question, "What is it she does now?"—which would have succeeded in drawing attention to the sleepwalker, if that had been the dramatist's sole purpose—the attending doctor is made to add the specific description, "Look how she rubs her hands" (V. i. 30). Standing beside the gentlewoman to whom he addresses his remarks, the doctor is obliged to give an exact account because otherwise spectators behind the two, unable to see clearly the hand rubbing, would surely have lost much of the value of Lady Macbeth's ensuing monologue. For a similar purpose does the dialogue in Shakespeare's plays consistently describe changes in the facial expressions of the actors<sup>13</sup> and invariably identify weeping.<sup>14</sup>

Impressive as evidence also are requests for action which are balked at by the recipients or disobeyed outright.<sup>15</sup> It seems significant that whenever a character postpones compliance with such a direction, the dramatist notifies the audience of the delay by having the command repeated. In the few cases where an actor refuses completely to perform the direction, the dialogue tells of his refusal. Hence in *1 Henry VI* when Joan Pucel silently refuses to kneel at the request (V. iv. 25) of the shepherd, he immediately informs the audience of the fact by adding, "Wilt thou not stoop?" If either the shepherd or one of Joan's several captors in the scene masks her from the view of some spectators, his words are their only signal that she actually has not knelt. So that not only when a direction is followed but also when it is not performed, Shakespeare lets everyone in his audience know it.

A factor other than the backs of actors or the intervening bodies of others comes to the attention with Iago's command to Roderigo, "Here, stand behind this bulk; . . ." (*Othello* V. i. 1). Iago probably is referring to a permanent obstruction on the Globe stage, one of the two posts supporting the "heavens."<sup>16</sup> These posts must have occasionally, at least, prevented some spectators from seeing bits of stage business clearly also (especially those in the rear galleries

<sup>11</sup> Even when two actors face each other with foils, as during the duel in *Hamlet*, spectators who stand or sit behind either player are certain to miss some of the action visually.

<sup>12</sup> I. ii. 115-117, 125-126, and 183-185.

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, *3 Henry VI* III. ii. 82; *The Comedy of Errors* II. ii. 112; and *Othello* V. ii. 38 and 43.

<sup>14</sup> See *2 Henry VI* I. i. 115; *Titus Andronicus* III. i. 136-137; and *Much Ado about Nothing* IV. i. 256-260.

<sup>15</sup> See *1 Henry IV* II. i. 38-45; *As You Like It* I. i. 68-69; and *The Tempest* II. ii. 145-146 and 158.

<sup>16</sup> In the Folio the quarto's "Bulke" becomes "Barke," possibly meaning a tree.

from action on the inner stage), another strong reason for inserting descriptions into the dialogue itself.

The dramatist must have been thoroughly convinced of the usefulness of such a device before venturing to employ it so freely, for there would always have been present that majority of spectators who saw what went on as well as heard of it, spectators to whom a lack of synchronization between the action and the word or a discrepancy of any kind would have been, at best, distracting. Descriptions delivered along with the action<sup>17</sup> would have demanded perfect timing of the players, descriptions after the action<sup>18</sup> would have required its having been previously performed in exact accordance, and identification of a stage property would have hindered an actor who had forgotten to bring it on the stage from covering his error with faking. Only the potential masking of important business or essential properties would have warranted thus limiting the freedom of the performer and endangering the success of the performance.

Whenever he could afford to do so, as a matter of fact, Shakespeare seems to have dispensed with specific description. Hence numerous references are worded too generally, a practice appropriate to the modern theater, to permit the auditory perception of stage business. For example, though a second glance at the text may tell the reader that Lear is really striking his head when he shouts, "O Lear, Lear, Lear! | Beat at this gate that let thy folly in" (I. iv. 292-293), such dialogue seems to be too unspecific to have helped an audience which so much of the time, as we have seen, had to depend for perception on the ears alone. The explanation for vague references like this in Shakespeare, however, is clearly given in a stage direction of *Coriolanus*. Having put four Volscies to flight, Caius Marcius remonstrates with his enthusiastic followers in words almost wholly undescriptive of their action:

O, me alone? Make you a sword of me?  
If these shows be not outward, which of you  
But is four Volscies?

What the hero means by "Make you a sword of me?" and "these shows" is specifically detailed in the marginal notation of the Folio, which reads, "*They all shout and wave their swords, take him up | in their arms and cast up their caps*" (I. vi. 75). Since this action must have been visible above the bodies of the players, all the original spectators, regardless of position, should have been able not only to hear the soldiers shout, but also to see them wave their swords above their heads, lift Marcius on to their shoulders, and cast their caps into the air. Here the dramatist can afford to omit having Caius Marcius specifically describe the action because everyone in the audience can be expected to perceive it visually. Likewise anyone in the audience should have been able to see Lear lift his hand above his head to strike it. The general visibility of such stage business freed Shakespeare from the usual obligation of writing specific description in the accompanying dialogue.

That the dramatist resorted to the convention only when the comprehension

<sup>17</sup> I count 607 instances. Especially difficult to time must have been the instances in which one actor has to describe the pantomiming of a second and third, as in Iago's long aside which details the stage business between Cassio and Desdemona (*Othello* II. i. 168-178).

<sup>18</sup> I count 1153.

of the Elizabethan audience required it seems further to be demonstrated by that stage business noted in the margin of the basic text which is accompanied by no descriptive dialogue whatever, general or specific. Thus the dialogue does not mention the business referred to by two notations in 3 *Henry VI*, "*Takes off his crown*" (IV. iii. 48), "*Lays his hand on his head*" (IV. vi. 68),<sup>19</sup> because it must have been visible, as we have noted that of *Lear* was, above the bodies of intervening players. More obviously visible to the entire house would have been the stage business described by the notation alone in the quarto of *Titus Andronicus*, "*They all kneel*" (I. i. 388), since it is evident that when every player kneels no player remains standing to mask the action. Similarly the notation "*Drinks*," repeated in one scene of *The Tempest* (II. ii. 47 and 57), names a piece of business enacted by Stephano<sup>20</sup> in the presence of Trinculo and Caliban while they lie prone on the stage floor, where they could hardly mask him from the general view. As evidently visible is the gesture, not referred to in the dialogue either, of the ghost in *Hamlet*, "*It spreads his arms*"<sup>21</sup> (I. i. 127), because the visual perception of outspread arms could hardly have been blocked by the back of the ghost or by the body of any member of the watch on the stage at the time. Nor does the final example, in *Cymbeline*, "*Imogen awakes*" (IV. ii. 291), require allusion in the dialogue, for all that is necessary is to have her speak, which she does immediately, in horror at the gruesome spectacle of her headless companion. Moreover, no standing player is present to mask her from view. I detect no other notations without dialogue reference of any kind which can be accurately considered as concerning stage business, action a player performs without changing his position on the stage.

Of all stage movement, as distinct from stage business, the two types most frequently noted in the margin of the basic texts are, of course, entrances and exits. While entering or exiting, obviously, a player is continuously shifting his position in relation to the sight lines of the audience. Thus if at one instant he is masked from a given group of spectators by the intervening body of another player, the next instant his walk will bring him past the obstruction into their view. The same, of course, applies to shifts in position other than entrances or exits, eliminating the necessity for dialogue description of any kind of lateral movement. And as with stage business performed above the heads of players, the general visibility of vertical movement upward (not downward, as through trapdoors) also would have obviated the necessity of dialogue description. Hence the well known marginal notation in the Folio text of *Antony and Cleopatra*, "*They heave Antony aloft to Cleopatra*" (IV. xv. 37), requires no dialogue description because it concerns a shift of position, from one stage level to another, visible to the whole audience. So that all action noted in the margin without dialogue description, really, is in the one category: it includes either stage business which everyone in the audience must have been able to see at the same

<sup>19</sup> The spelling of these two stage directions, of course, and of those that follow is modernized, but the words are those appearing in the basic texts.

<sup>20</sup> In 1 *Henry IV* twice (II. iv. 132 and 172) a notation refers to Falstaff's taking a drink in the company of other characters who are probably standing. Possibly this scene was enacted on an inner stage, where it would have been less likely that any other character could have blocked Falstaff from view.

<sup>21</sup> Kittredge emends this to read "*Spreads his arms*," and seems to assign it to Horatio rather than the ghost. His conjecture, however, does not affect my argument.

time, or stage movement, whose very nature makes it visible at one time or another to the entire house.<sup>22</sup>

Thus Shakespeare's periods of silence during stage action prove what his verbal descriptions demonstrate: he made every possible effort to ensure that every member of his public playhouse audience perceived the whole of every play—through the eyes whenever practicable; through the ears whenever there was danger of masking. And though the dramatist originally employed his directions in the dialogue for reasons far different from purposes of publication, how welcome they are today to the reader of his plays—the modern reader, whose visual perception is masked from all of Shakespeare's stage business by the cruel passage of time.

*University of Rhode Island*

<sup>22</sup> It is possible, of course, that the stage itself, let alone the actors, was not visible to the "entire house," though John C. Adams, at least, seems to assume it was (*The Globe Playhouse*, 1943, pp. 40-41, 95-96, 174-175, 296-297, and 300-301). But a playwright cannot be expected to do much for spectators who are unfortunate enough, say, to sit behind posts or who are blocked for the duration of the performance from seeing the stage by the bulk (or hats) of those in front.



# Measure for Measure: The Significance of the Title

PAUL N. SIEGEL



MEASURE FOR MEASURE," Elizabeth Marie Pope has observed, "unlike some of Shakespeare's comedies, has a highly significant title, a phrase which not only sums up the basic theme of the play, but is brought out and emphasized at the crisis in the last act, when the Duke condemns his deputy:

'An Angelo for Claudio, death for death.'  
Haste still pays haste, and leisure answers leisure;  
Like doth quit like, and Measure still for Measure."<sup>1</sup>

But what exactly is the significance of the title? Oscar James Campbell says of *Measure for Measure*: "Its temper is ironic as its title: 'Measure,' as there used is a judicial term for the measuring out of justice; hence the title means, 'justice for justice.' But Angelo does not receive measure for measure, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. It is not carefully calculated justice that is measured out to him, but mercy and forgiveness. Thus the title is ironical."<sup>2</sup> Donald J. McGinn points out, however, that, while the Duke echoes with intentional irony the "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" of the Mosaic law to which the puritanical Angelo had adhered, his words also allude to the exhortation to mercy of the Sermon on the Mount, "with the same measure that ye mete withal it shall be measured to you again." Thus two interpretations of "measure for measure" are presented to Isabella—and, in pleading for Angelo's life, she chooses the right one.<sup>3</sup> But Miss Pope notes (pp. 68-69) that the warning of the Sermon on the Mount that each man will be judged as he judges presents a paradox which Renaissance commentators glided over and which Shakespeare, she thinks, grappled with in the drama: "Who actually is to return rash judgment for rash judgment, condemnation for condemnation, like for like? Men? The same men who have just been explicitly commanded to forbear judgment and forgive injuries? God, then? The same God Whom His Son has just described as 'kind to the unkind, and to the evil,' the Father according to Whose example we are urged to be merciful?" In applying the doctrine, Renaissance political philosophers, while holding that rulers should "think how Christ would judge, before they judge," emphasized that the state,

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Marie Pope, "The Renaissance Background of *Measure for Measure*," *Shakespeare Survey* 2, ed. Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge University Press, 1949), II, 66.

<sup>2</sup> *The Living Shakespeare*, ed. Oscar James Campbell (New York, 1949), p. 652.

<sup>3</sup> Donald J. McGinn, "The Precise Angelo," *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. James G. McManaway, et al. (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948), pp. 137-139.



rather than the wronged individual was the agency for punishment, making clemency have regard for extenuating circumstances instead of true Christian forgiveness. Shakespeare, she concludes (pp. 79-80), in dramatizing Christian doctrine, has the Duke "let off Angelo, Lucio, and Barnardine as well, with penalties entirely disproportionate to what their conduct deserved by ordinary Renaissance standards. . . . The ruler must be vigilant to suppress or prevent disorder and evil; and he should see to it that the innocent are properly protected. . . . But his primary duty is, like God, to show mercy whenever he possibly can, even when the fault is disgusting and the criminal despicable. . . ." "Measure for Measure," then, in recalling the words of the Sermon on the Mount, not only sets off Christian mercy against retaliation in kind but against the clemency that contents itself with taking into account the circumstances of the case.

Although Miss Pope's drawing in of the Renaissance background of *Measure for Measure* enables us to see the play in better perspective, her belief that it is a solution of a theological problem would seem to be unjustified. For the play never answers the question which Miss Pope herself has propounded: who is to retaliate with equal severity against the judges lacking in mercy? It is better to examine it as the solution of a dramatic problem rising from the Christian doctrine with which it deals. The problem is simply this: how is the dramatist to make the audience feel that dramatic justice has been achieved and yet that Christian mercy, contrasting with the conduct of Angelo, has been shown? How is he to rouse the audience to the derisive laughter of satiric comedy and yet leave it with a sense of moral elevation? "All the evidence goes to show," remarks Miss Pope (p. 79), "that the audience would have left for home equally contented—perhaps even more contented—if Angelo, Lucio, and Barnardine had been punished, like Shylock. . . ." But in *The Merchant of Venice* there too is a duke who echoes (IV. i. 88) the warning of the Sermon on the Mount: "How shalt thou hope for mercy rendering none?" The audience undoubtedly enjoyed the sight of the biter, "the Jew dog," being bit, but it also undoubtedly felt that in being granted his life, half of his wealth, and the possibility of achieving salvation through a change of religion he was receiving mercy. Is not this a clue to an understanding of *Measure for Measure*—the title and the play?

"Measure for measure," in my interpretation, is not the absence of retaliation but an elaborate working-out of retaliation. It is a retaliation, however, which follows not *lex talionis* but the law of comic justice, a retaliation which makes the audience feel that the punishment has been made to fit the crime and yet that justice has been tempered by mercy. My interpretation of the title, like Miss Pope's, includes that of Campbell and McGinn, but it adds to its irony. "Measure for measure" refers not only to Angelo's method of dispensing justice, the scales for the measuring out of the penalty in precise proportion to the crime, in which the time comes for his own misdeeds to be weighed—only for them to be discarded by the Duke at the crucial moment; it refers not only to the opposite of Angelo's procedure, the Christian forgiveness of the Sermon on the Mount, with the Christian meaning superseding the Mosaic one, mercy being returned for severity; it refers also to the retribution, ironically and sometimes humorously appropriate, which is visited upon each of the misdoers even though mercy is granted to him. Shakespeare in this is like the Renaissance

# PROPOSALS FOR AN AMERICAN EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE

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Page 1 of the prospectus issued in Boston about 1807 by Lemuel Blake, in association with Munroe & Frances (the first American edition of the dramatic works was Philadelphia, 1795). It was to appear in "forty two numbers or half volumes" issued fortnightly at a cost of 87½¢ each, payable on delivery. Subscriptions were to be received in sixteen different cities, from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to Charleston, South Carolina. No such edition is now traceable.

February 21 of

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IN 2 VOLS. 8vo.

February 18 of

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*Time, which is continually washing away the discolour'd fabrics of other Poets, passes without injury by the adamant of Shakspeare.* — Dr. Johnson's Preface.  
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TO WHICH ARE ADDED,  
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BY **SAMUEL JOHNSON & GEORGE STEEVENS,**  
From the fifth and latest London Edition, published in 1803,  
REVISED AND AUGMENTED BY  
**ISAAC REED.**  
WITH A GLOSSARIAL INDEX.  
*Sweet Swan of Avon, what a sight it were,  
To see thee in our waters yet appear;  
With all those flights upon the banks of Thames,  
That so did take Eliza and King James!  
But stay—I see thee in our hemisphere  
Advanc'd, and made a constellation here—  
Shine forth, thou STAR of POETS, and with rage,  
Ornament, chide, or cheer the drooping Stage.*  
Beh. Johnson.  
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## PROSPECTUS OF A BOSTON EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE

Pages 7 & 8 relating to an edition projected by Lemuel Blake. See also page 367.

theologians and political theorists to whom Miss Pope objects (p. 69) because they write "almost as if they approve of mercy at one level of consciousness, and of retaliation in kind at another," but he was attempting to produce not a coherent and consistent doctrine but an effective play.

For Angelo, the chief misdoer of the play, not only the retribution which he suffers but the means by which it is effected is dramatically appropriate. His hypocrisy, his mask of righteousness to hide his evil-doing, is countered by the Duke's plottings in disguise, by which he circumvents evil and unmasks it at the crucial moment. As the Duke says in his gnomic utterance, as he goes about his machinations,

Craft against vice I must apply.  
With Angelo tonight shall lie  
His old betrothed but despised;  
So disguise shall, by the disguised,  
Pay with falsehood false exacting,  
And perform an old contracting. (III. ii. 291-296)

Falsehood for falsehood, measure for measure. Angelo, who has been false to Mariana, is tricked to where he belongs—in her arms. His sexual relations with her before formal marriage put him in the same position Claudio had been, but the Duke, instead of executing him, maintains Mariana's honor by ordering marriage and leaves him free to face the charge of Claudio's death. Exposed, humbled, stripped of his authority, he begs for grace—but the grace he requests is death. He, who had, so he thought, summarily disposed of Claudio for fear of death at his hands, now asks for the death he had sought to escape. The abasement and contrition of the once proudly self-righteous deputy satisfy dramatic justice. But now the woman who pleaded with him in vain for her brother's life pleads for his. "I would to heaven I had your potency, / And you were Isabell!" (II. ii. 67-68) she had said. Now, when Mariana begs her to save Angelo's life by interceding with the Duke, seemingly inflexible as Angelo had been seemingly incorruptible in his inflexibility, she does so although she thinks that Claudio has been killed by Angelo, returning good for evil. Angelo's repentance and her forgiveness produce, as it were, the miracle of Claudio's resurrection, making possible a mercy that would not flout justice.

So mercy is granted to the other sinners, but it is not a mercy which disregards justice. The law is enforced, as it was not before Angelo's deputyship. The punishment of the pimp Pompey is significant. Escalus, Angelo's second in command and his counterpart, had been too lenient. He had released him with a mere warning, and Pompey had thanked him, adding under his breath that it would not prevent him from following his trade. He is caught again (Escalus' comment about Angelo's severity, "Mercy is not itself, that oft looks so; / Pardon is still the nurse of second woe [II. ii. 297-298], is inappropriate to the sentencing of Claudio but ironically appropriate to the release he has just given Pompey), and the Duke as friar castigates him as he is taken to prison, saying (III. ii. 33-34), "Correction and instruction must both work / Ere this rude beast will profit." But once justice has been served, mercy is granted to the good-natured clown. The provost calls off the full term of his sentence on the condition that he accept the ignoble but socially necessary position of hangman's assistant. "He cannot plead his estimation with you," he tells the hangman. "He hath been a bawd." (IV. ii. 27-29). But Pompey is not one to reject

the condition. "Truly, sir, I am a poor fellow that would live" (II. i. 235), he had said in reply to Escalus' questioning about his occupation. He now readily exchanges the "trade" of "unlawful bawd" for that of "lawful hangman" (IV. ii. 16, 17). It is one that the former pimp deserves.

The smutty slanderer Lucio, unknowingly calumniating the Duke to his face, like Angelo invites retribution. More than once the friar warns him to beware of the time the Duke, of whom he speaks so freely, returns. The sentence of whipping and hanging which the Duke passes would have been considered just by Elizabethans for the slandering of a prince. After having passed sentence, however, the Duke exercises mercy and revokes it except for the order that he marry the harlot whom he has got with child. It is only appropriate that the free-speaking, slanderous Lucio should have been led into this shameful marriage by his own rattling tongue, which made him tell the friar in careless self-assurance how he had falsely sworn before the Duke that he was not the father of the unborn child. Like the good-natured, humorous Pompey this genial libertine, who had thought to escape the consequences of his acts, is punished in a manner that the audience, which has been entertained by both and therefore feels well disposed toward them, would not find too severe but would regard as peculiarly fitting. The joke at the end is on each of them, but, although they may find it galling, Pompey, in his coarse indifference, and Lucio, in his incorrigible impudence, can face it.

The release of the murderer Barnardine in the custody of Friar Peter may seem a violation of justice. But Barnardine has already been in prison for nine years. He does not care whether he be kept there or let go, permitted to live or put to death. Execution or life-imprisonment would not be a punishment for him. Now Friar Peter will teach him the awfulness of divine justice and the terrors of hell-fire. It is only for his "earthly faults" that the Duke pardons him, he emphasizes (V. i. 488); for his faults against heaven he remains condemned. Only the fear of after-life can be a punishment of any sort for this "gravel heart," "unfit to live or die" (IV. iii. 68). Yet the Duke's mercy is a genuine mercy, bringing not only the suffering of the awakened conscience but the possibility of a purgatorial cleansing and the hope of divine mercy. "Thou'rt condemned;/ But, for those earthly faults, I quit them all;/ And pray thee take this mercy to provide/ For better times to come" (V. i. 487-9).

*Ripon College*

# The Inception of Leontes' Jealousy in *The Winter's Tale*

ROGER J. TRIENENS

MUCH of the criticism of *The Winter's Tale* hinges upon the characterization of Leontes and upon his startling outburst of jealousy in Act I, scene ii. Most critics have assumed that Leontes is in a normal state of mind when this scene begins but that he suddenly becomes jealous when Hermione persuades Polixenes, the visiting king, to remain longer in Sicily. Yet this has seemed a very inadequate cause for suspicion, because Hermione, however graciously, merely obeys her husband's command. Therefore these critics have generally tried to account for his sudden jealousy in one of two ways. Either they have explained it as manifesting a weakness inherent in Leontes' nature, a weakness which makes him respond to a most trifling cause for suspicion, or else they have simply called it an improbability and hence a flaw in the dramatic construction.<sup>1</sup>

Each of these views has certain drawbacks which I should like to point out before citing what I consider to be a true interpretation. Harold C. Goddard, in *The Meaning of Shakespeare*, illustrates the view that Leontes' jealousy is an inherent characteristic; for he attributes it to "emotional instability." He believes that Leontes

becomes instantaneously the victim of an insane jealousy for no other reason than the trifle that his friend from boyhood . . . agrees to stay at the solicitation of Leontes' wife. Within a matter of minutes, we might almost say of seconds, he is so beside himself that he is actually questioning the paternity of his own boy and his mind has become a chaos of incoherence and sensuality. Unmotivated, his reaction has been pronounced by critic after critic, and so it is, if by motive we mean a definite rational incitement to action. But there are irrational as well as rational incitements to action, and what we have here is a sudden inundation of the conscious by the unconscious, of which the agreement of Polixenes to prolong his visit is the occasion rather than the cause.<sup>2</sup>

The psychology of the unconscious here seems to mitigate the moral indictment which early critics like Coleridge frequently level against Leontes. In com-

<sup>1</sup> Although many critics vaguely combine these different views, we may keep them separate for the purpose of discussion. There is a convenient selection of criticisms in the New Variorum edition of *The Winter's Tale*, ed. Furness (Philadelphia, 1898). Several more recent criticisms will be cited below; but, with one important exception, they do not add very much to those presented in the Variorum.

<sup>2</sup> Chicago (1951), p. 650.



paring *Othello* with *The Winter's Tale*, Coleridge describes Othello as a noble person who is not easily jealous, whereas he describes Leontes as an ignoble person who suffers from such faults as "grossness of conception" and "selfish vindictiveness" and who is therefore easily given to jealousy.<sup>3</sup> Lady Martin expresses the same view when she writes, "Shakespeare has therefore dealt with Leontes as a man in whom the passion of jealousy is inherent; and shows it breaking out suddenly with a force that is deaf to reason, and which stimulated by an imagination tainted to the core, finds evidences in actions the most innocent. How different is such a nature's from Othello's! . . ."<sup>4</sup>

For Leontes to be considered naturally jealous, as these critics imagine, certain obstacles would appear insurmountable. Leontes has been married for several years before manifesting jealousy and he has been tolerating the company of Polixenes for nine months. Surely if he were naturally jealous he would have betrayed his weakness in some manner before. Yet the opening scene, the discussion between Archidamus and Camillo, is clearly designed to put the audience in the same frame of mind as the characters in the play, who are astonished when such a man as Leontes turned out to be jealous. Shakespeare treats Leontes sympathetically, as in the talk with Mamillius, and he treats him as a noble rather than as a base character. It is true that Leontes succumbs to jealousy without the assistance of an Iago or an Iachimo; but at the close of the play, having suffered a purgatory of grief, he appears worthy of the reconciliation with Hermione.

Thus the alternate view that Leontes' sudden jealousy is simply an improbability would seem preferable. Hudson expresses this view, saying, "In the delineation of Leontes there is an abruptness of change which strikes us, at first view, as not a little a-clash with nature; we cannot well see how one state of mind grows out of another; his jealousy shoots comet-like, as something unprovided for in the general ordering of his character."<sup>5</sup> In his introduction to the *New Cambridge Shakespeare* edition Quiller-Couch further emphasizes the artistic ineptitude: "In *Pandosto* (we shall use Shakespeare's names) Leontes' jealousy is made slow and by increase plausible. Shakespeare weakens the plausibility of it as well by ennobling Hermione—after his way with good women—as by huddling up jealousy in its motion so densely that it merely strikes us as frantic and—which is worse in drama—a piece of impossible improbability. This has always and rightly offended the critics. . . ."<sup>6</sup>

This interpretation is reasonable, at least, since it does not contradict the most obvious facts of Leontes' characterization; yet one would naturally wish to discredit it, since it is damaging to the artistry of the play. It may seem the better of the two customary views. But fortunately both of these views may be shown to be incorrect because they are both based on a mistaken assumption;

<sup>3</sup> *Notes and Lectures Upon Shakespeare*, ed. Mrs. H. N. Coleridge, 2 vols. (London, 1849), I, 252-256.

<sup>4</sup> *Variorum*, p. 366.

<sup>5</sup> *Variorum*, p. 367.

<sup>6</sup> *The Winter's Tale*, ed. A. T. Quiller-Couch and J. D. Wilson (Cambridge, Eng., 1931), pp. xvi-xvii. It is not impossible, of course, that a man should become jealous suddenly and for trivial cause. See the Neilson and Hill edition of *The Complete Plays and Poems* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), p. 501: "Psychiatrists might even argue today that the case of Leontes is credible." But Quiller-Couch is right in believing that what seems improbable is dramatically impossible.



on the assumption, namely, that Leontes' jealousy rises almost instantaneously. One critic, John Dover Wilson, has contradicted this assumption in a brief note to the *New Cambridge Shakespeare* edition:

... The problem of this scene is to determine at what point Leontes first becomes jealous. My own belief is that the actor who plays him should display signs of jealousy from the very onset and make it clear, as he easily may, that the business of asking Polixenes to stay longer is merely the device of jealousy seeking proof.<sup>7</sup>

It is my hope in the present article to support Wilson's belief with arguments that will convince the reader of its validity.

The other critics would have us believe that Leontes is not beset with jealousy when scene ii begins and that his passion must therefore rise in the brief period between line 1 and line 108 when he expresses his feelings in an aside. Moreover some critics shorten the period still further. According to Coleridge, for example, the words "At my request he would not" (line 87) reveal the commencement of Leontes' jealous fit. Coleridge believes that even in lines 43-45,

yet, good deed, Leontes,  
I love thee not a jar o' th' clock behind  
What lady she her lord,

Hermione sets Leontes' allegedly inherent jealousy "in nascent action." These lines, says Coleridge, should be accompanied, "as a good actress ought to represent it, by an expression and recoil of apprehension that she had gone too far."<sup>8</sup> But only Wilson has forthrightly asserted that Leontes is already experiencing jealousy at the very beginning of the scene. Now in the source of *The Winter's Tale*, Greene's *Pandosto*, the jealousy of the king is quite plausible. For in the narrative form of the story it seems natural that over a period of time he should become increasingly suspicious while he observes his queen and the visiting king enjoying each other's company. Quiller-Couch, in the passage we have read, states that in the process of dramatizing it Shakespeare rendered the story improbable.<sup>9</sup> Yet it is also possible to assume that at the beginning of scene ii the action of the play is identical with that of the novel. If we can impose the novel on the play—that is, if we can read the opening of the scene as if Leontes were already jealous—then we should be able to relieve our minds of the charge that the plot is at this point faulty.

As a matter of fact, a textual analysis of the scene will confirm such a reading. Let us assume that Leontes has watched with increasing anxiety the familiarity that has grown up between Hermione and Polixenes during the latter's long visit. Why then would Leontes wish to detain Polixenes? Probably not in order to exact revenge, because his suspicion has not yet developed into a conviction. It seems more plausible that like Othello he simply cannot

<sup>7</sup> P. 131. Stopford A. Brooke anticipates Wilson to a very slight extent when he says that Leontes' jealousy, "sudden in its explosion, . . . had long been growing, unconsciously, in his heart" (*Ten Plays of Shakespeare* [London, 1925], pp. 257-258). Cf. Kate Richmond-Green, *Interpretation of A Winter's Tale* (New York, 1896), pp. 6-7.

<sup>8</sup> *Notes and Lectures Upon Shakespeare*, I, 254.

<sup>9</sup> Also see the Variorum edition, pp. 352-353; the Yale edition, ed. F. E. Pierce (New Haven, 1918), p. 128; Neilson and Hill, *The Complete Plays and Poems*, p. 501.

bear to doubt and that he is intent upon ascertaining the truth, which he could not easily do if Polixenes were to depart. In view of this situation it would be natural if in his attempt to detain Polixenes with a show of courtesy, Leontes failed to communicate himself with appropriate warmth. And indeed, his words seem remarkably terse and laconic in relation to the situation as it seems on the surface. In their total effect they give more the impression of blunt refusal than of courteous persuasion.<sup>10</sup> Having managed to say little himself, Leontes addresses these curt words to Hermione: "Tongue-tied our Queen? Speak you." She has noticed the inappropriateness of his speech which is apparent even in the printed text and which should be quite obvious in the stage delivery. Yet she does not suspect the anxiety which affects his speech any more than, up to this point, does the audience. Nor can she suspect how her success in persuading Polixenes will unsettle his mind; but that it immediately does produce such an effect is made clear by Leontes' pointed comment, "At my request he would not." If his mind were not already given to jealousy this swift reaction would be incredible. Therefore why should we not assume that he was already jealous? If we weigh the probabilities I think we ought to conclude that Shakespeare, although not overtly revealing his jealousy before the aside, has written this scene on the premise that Leontes is jealous at its very beginning and even for some time antecedent to it.

When Leontes expresses jealousy in his aside, he does not betray the astonishment of one who has just been surprised into a passion; but instead he speaks with a careful eye for detail as he observes the behavior of Hermione and Polixenes. He has taken the event which has just passed as evidence of guilt, and he has already turned his attention towards other evidence. In fact it is a measure of the advanced stage of his suspicion that he can think in such unemotional terms about what he sees. Instead of exclaiming, "What does this mean?" or "Can it be true?" he speaks only as if he were confirmed in his suspicion: "My heart dances, but not for joy, not joy."

After the aside, Leontes succeeds for a while in concealing his jealousy from the other characters as before; but the audience gets a better measure of his passion from the conversation with his boy, Mamillius. What distinguishes scene ii, as it progresses, from any of Leontes' previous experiences is that the seeming confirmation of his doubts rapidly unbalances his mind. Further indication that his suspicions are not entirely new comes when Leontes finally discloses his jealousy to Camillo. For then he implies that it is based not only upon Hermione's success in persuading Polixenes, but upon that in conjunction with many previous observations:

Is whispering nothing?  
Is leaning cheek to cheek? Is meeting noses?  
Kissing with inside lip? stopping the career  
Of laughter with a sigh? —a note infallible  
Of breaking honesty; —horsing foot on foot?  
Skulking in corners? wishing clocks more swift?  
Hours, minutes? noon, midnight? . . . (284-290)

He is accustomed to observing such appearances. Insofar as they are real (we

<sup>10</sup> The starting point of Wilson's note is a reference to ll. 9-10: "Though very gracious on the surface, this remark, Leontes' first, is ominous." Wilson gives no other justification for his theory.

need not accuse Hermione of serious impropriety), they certainly have not all impressed his mind within the last few minutes or even hours. And still later in the scene, when Polixenes asks Camillo how Leontes came to be jealous, Camillo does not mention the incident which merely intensified the passion. He replies,

I know not; but I am sure 'tis safer to  
Avoid what's grown than question how 'tis born. (432-433)

Wilson's theory, which he set forth in 1931, has not gained the support or even the attention that it deserves and critics like M. R. Ridley, E. M. W. Tillyard, G. B. Harrison, and Hardin Craig have continued to discuss Leontes' characterization along the lines of earlier criticism.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, Mark Van Doren seems to follow Wilson in his discussion of the play, especially when he states that Leontes "opens his whole mind to us" in the aside. But if he accepts Wilson's interpretation he does not assert the fact, much less give reasons for doing so.<sup>12</sup> Thomas Marc Parrott is one critic who has struck out on a fresh path:

It may repay us to follow the action of the play and to observe Shakespeare's use of the tragi-comic technique of surprise and spectacle. It opens gaily with the portrayal of the old friendship of the two kings and with Hermione's playful pressure on Polixenes to defer his departure, but the first surprise comes swiftly with the revelation of her husband's jealousy. No auditor, unless aware that Shakespeare was dramatizing Greene's novel, could have expected this. The sudden unmotivated passion of Leontes has often been denounced by critics, but Shakespeare had no desire to write *Othello* over again. The jealousy of Leontes, unlike that of the Moor, is causeless, self-centered, and recognized by all others in the action as morbid self-delusion.<sup>13</sup>

Parrott differs from critics like Quiller-Couch because in comparing the play with its source he emphasizes the surprise element instead of the supposed improbability. However, he too regards Leontes' jealousy as a "sudden unmotivated passion."

S. L. Bethell, in his book *The Winter's Tale, A Study*, has noticed Wilson's theory and attempted to refute it. His argument appears in an appendix entitled "Leontes' jealousy and his 'secret vices,'" where he also attempts to refute Wilson's other theory that Leontes himself had sinned before the opening of the play.<sup>14</sup> I will not enter into this second dispute except to say that I do not believe that Leontes had led a sinful life either. But surely these two ideas are not interdependent; for as I have already argued, Shakespeare treats Leontes as a worthy character and Leontes becomes jealous because of the morbid condition of mind in which his situation has placed him. Bethell's argument is principally based on Leontes' comment after Hermione and Polixenes go into the garden:

<sup>11</sup> Ridley, *Shakespeare's Plays, A Commentary* (London, 1937), pp. 207-210; Tillyard, *Shakespeare's Last Plays* (London, 1938), p. 41; Harrison (ed.), *Shakespeare* (New York, 1948), p. 961; Craig, *An Interpretation of Shakespeare* (New York, 1948), pp. 331-332.

<sup>12</sup> *Shakespeare* (New York, 1939), pp. 314-315.

<sup>13</sup> *Shakespearean Comedy* (New York, 1949), p. 384.

<sup>14</sup> London (1947), pp. 121-124.

I am angling now,  
Though you perceive me not how I give line. (180-181)


He believes that if Shakespeare gives this conventional indication of Leontes' state of mind here, it is improbable that he should have used the "relatively naturalistic technique" at the beginning of the scene. But if we accept Parrott's idea that Shakespeare used a *surprise* technique, this argument loses its force because the same surprise cannot happen twice. Moreover, the striking presentation of Leontes' jealousy is characteristic of Shakespeare's genius—his plays are remarkable for their dramatic openings—and by developing the contrast between the general opinion of Leontes' happiness and his true state of mind Shakespeare reiterates one of his favorite themes, that appearances are deceiving.

*The Winter's Tale* is complementary with *Othello* in that it takes jealousy as its premise and traces its consequences for a man who avoids death, whereas the earlier play traces the inception and growth of jealousy leading up to a tragic incident. In *The Winter's Tale* Shakespeare is thus satisfied only to hint at the question of "how 'tis born." After scrutinizing the text we can picture to ourselves how Leontes first became jealous. However, we should realize that Shakespeare omits this matter in order to turn our attention to the estrangement which inevitably follows; for *The Winter's Tale* is essentially a study of estrangement and reconciliation. If jealousy is the premise of this play it does not have to rise instantaneously. Yet if Shakespeare were to have described its development dramatically he would have had to introduce matter irrelevant to his theme—as Parrott says, he would have had to write *Othello* over again. And if he had immediately disclosed the secret of Leontes' jealousy to the audience he could hardly have begun the play in so surprising and effective a manner.

*Free Library of Philadelphia*

# Shakespeare in Charleston on the Eve of the Revolution

HENNIG COHEN

HE history of the Charleston stage begins in the year 1703 with the arrival from Jamaica of Tony Aston, alias Mat Medley, who "turned Player and Poet" and produced what is probably the first professional dramatic performance written and acted in the American colonies.<sup>1</sup> After a year touring the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, and New York, Aston returned to England richer mainly in experience. His brief visit is notable because it is the first record of a professional production in the colonies, but otherwise it is little more than an incident in the rich theatrical life of colonial South Carolina.

On January 24, 1735, the first of Charleston's seven pre-Revolutionary theatrical seasons began with a presentation of Otway's *The Orphan*.<sup>2</sup> A few days later the play was repeated, this time with an original prologue defending the dramatic art. The prologue reads in part:

And if important Mortals, cramm'd with Thought  
Condemn what Addison and Shakespeare wrote  
Fond of our Peace, averse to all Disputes,  
We straight submitt, and ask—the Price of Boots.<sup>3</sup>

This is the first mention in Charleston of anything Shakespearian thus far discovered.

Shakespeare's *Richard III* was performed in New York in 1750 and in Philadelphia in 1759, but it was not until 1764, when the American Company of Comedians gave *King Lear* and *Romeo and Juliet*, that his name appeared in the Charleston playbills.<sup>4</sup> However, newspaper advertisements of books lost and books offered for sale indicate that his plays were widely read throughout the colonial period. From 1738 to 1775 the works of Shakespeare were advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette* fifteen times. On this basis, his popularity was comparable to that of Alexander Pope's, though both held a secondary position to Isaac Watts with his collections of hymns, psalms, and sermons. Compared

<sup>1</sup> From the introduction to *The Fool's Opera, or Taste of the Age, written by Mat Medley* (London, 1731), quoted in Eola Willis, *The Charleston Stage in the Eighteenth Century* (Columbia, S. C., 1924), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, Jan. 11, 1735. Hereafter cited as SCG.

<sup>3</sup> SCG., Feb. 8, 1735.

<sup>4</sup> George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York, 1927), I, 32; Thomas Clark Pollock, *The Philadelphia Theatre in the Eighteenth Century: Together with the Day Book of the Same Period* (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 77; Mabel L. Weber, ed., "Extracts from the Journal of Mrs. Ann Manigault," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XX (July 1919), 207.

with other playwrights, his popularity was without equal. The published plays of Otway and Congreve are mentioned twice in the *Gazette*; those of Ben Jonson, Fletcher, Massinger, Dryden, Farquhar, Cibber, Rowe, Steele, and Centlivre were advertised only once.

None of Shakespeare's individual plays was advertised by title, but Samuel Johnson's edition, published in London in 1765, was advertised in the *Gazette* as early as June 16, 1766, and in 1773 the borrower of a set of Theobald's Shakespeare was requested to return it to its rightful owner.

Another indication of how well Shakespeare was known is the extent to which local writers used quotations from his plays as epigraphs to their own poems and essays. For example, "Humourist," a regular contributor to the *Gazette* in 1753-1754, sprinkled his essays with Shakespearian quotations and used several examples of Shakespeare's nature descriptions (along with others by Dryden, Spenser, and Otway) to demonstrate the superiority of the "Moderns" over the "Antients" (*SCG.*, April 2, 1754).

By 1773 Charleston had seen six theatrical seasons and had undertaken the construction of its third playhouse. On December 22 of that year, David Douglas opened the "New Theatre," which the editor of the *Gazette* boasted was second to none in the colonies in its size and elegance (*SCG.*, Oct. 5, 1773; Mar. 7, 1774). The *New York Gazette* gives this description of the opening night:

On Wednesday last the new theatre . . . was opened with Mr. Kelly's "Word to the Wise" and "High Life Below Stairs," with an occasional prologue and epilogue spoken by Mr. Hallam and Mrs. Douglas. The performance gave universal satisfaction. . . . The house is elegantly finished and supposed for the size to be the most commodious on the continent. The scenes, which are new and well designed, the dresses, the music, and what had a very pleasing effect, the disposition of the lights, all contributed to the satisfaction of the audience, who expressed their highest approbation of their entertainment.<sup>8</sup>

Douglas must be forgiven for gloating over the fact that his theater was built "upon the very spot where an established church formerly stood" (*SCG.*, Oct. 23, 1773). The construction of the playhouse had met with a flurry of opposition until an anonymous writer came to its defense. In an essay published in the *Gazette*, this writer traced the history of the stage from ancient Greece through what he described as "the period of Gothic Barbarity and Monkish Ignorance" to its renaissance "in the hands of Ariosto and Tasso, a Lopez de Vega, a Corneille, a Racine and Molière, and a Shakespeare" (*SCG.*, Oct. 25, 1773).

By 1773, the year of the final pre-Revolutionary season, evidence is abundant that Charleston had had a varied and generous theatrical fare; that Shakespeare had been played, read and quoted; and that the Charleston audience was prepared to appreciate a selection of plays which in quality and variety was to be without precedent in the annals of the American stage.

At this point the historian of the theater should pause and pay his respects to two men—Peter Timothy and Robert Wells—editors, respectively, of the

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in George O. Seilhamer, *History of the American Theatre* (Philadelphia, 1888), I, 332.



*South Carolina Gazette* and the *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, the former an outspoken Whig and the latter an uncompromising Loyalist, but both men of cultivation and literary interests. Because they printed in their newspapers a "Catalogue of Plays . . . by the American Company of Comedians, under the direction of Mr. David Douglas,"<sup>6</sup> there is available the most complete list of its kind before the Revolution, and except for the catalogue of the Annapolis season of 1760, the only such list.<sup>7</sup>

The Annapolis engagement lasted two months, during which twenty-eight performances were given. The Charleston season began in December, 1773, and continued until the middle of the following May. Fifty-nine theatrical programs were presented, usually a double bill consisting of a play with a farce as an after-piece. The list includes sixteen Shakespearian productions with an equal number, mainly farces, by Garrick, and in addition four performances of Garrick's *Catherine and Petruchio*, based upon *The Taming of the Shrew*. Second in popularity to Shakespeare and Garrick was Otway, whose *The Orphan* was presented eight times. Addison's *Cato* had six performances, and six comedies by Farquhar were played. By any standard, Shakespeare was easily the most popular dramatist represented.

The London playgoer in the season of 1773-1774, the season of the first performance of *She Stoops to Conquer*, could have seen *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *As You Like It*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Tempest*, and *Cymbeline*.<sup>8</sup> The same season the Charleston playgoer could also have seen *She Stoops to Conquer* and *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard III*, *Julius Caesar*, *Merchant of Venice*, *The Tempest*, and *Cymbeline*, ten out of the fifteen Shakespearian plays on the London stage that year, and in addition, *Henry VI*, *King John* and the Garrick adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew*. Drury Lane had one hundred and eighty-eight theatrical performances during the season which began on September 17, 1773, and ended on May 27, 1774. Twenty-eight or fifteen per cent were plays by Shakespeare. Shakespearian productions in Charleston constituted twenty-seven per cent of the total number of performances. The records of the New York and Philadelphia stage for comparable seasons are not complete, but they indicate that while the percentage of Shakespeare presented was above that of Drury Lane it was below that of Charleston. When the American Company played Philadelphia from October 28, 1772, to March 31, 1773, it gave performances of *The Tempest*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, *Cymbeline*, *Richard III*, *Othello*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *1 Henry IV*.<sup>9</sup> During its New York season from April 14 to August 5, 1773, it staged *The Tempest*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, *Richard III*, and *Romeo and Juliet*.<sup>10</sup>

"The choice of Plays," according to a critic writing in the *South Carolina Gazette* at the close of the Charleston season of 1773-74, "hath been allowed to be very judicious, the Director having selected from the most approved English Poets such Pieces as possess in the highest degree the *Utile Dulce*, and

<sup>6</sup> SCG., May 30, 1774; *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, May 27, 1774.

<sup>7</sup> *History of the American Theatre*, p. 330.

<sup>8</sup> David Nichol Smith, *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1928), p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> *Philadelphia Stage*, pp. 115-128.

<sup>10</sup> *Annals of the New York Stage*, pp. 160-171.



while they entertain, improve the Mind by conveying the most useful lessons of Morality and Virtue."<sup>11</sup> This critic may have felt a necessity for justifying the repertory of the American Company on moral and didactic grounds, but it is fairly certain that the audience attended for pleasure rather than for edification.

The ties between London and Charleston, so soon to be severed, were especially close on the eve of the Revolution, as the list of plays preserved in the *Gazettes* bears witness. The Charleston audience followed the highlights of the London fashion. It demanded ballad opera, pantomime, Shakespeare, or whatever happened to be in vogue. Because it was a provincial audience, it saw more old favorites and relatively fewer new plays.

The popularity of Shakespeare in Charleston, then, seems to have stemmed largely from three factors: first, the Charleston audience possessed sufficient background and theatrical experience to have developed a decided taste for the plays of Shakespeare; second, it was a reflection of the revival of interest in Shakespeare in England toward the middle of the eighteenth century; and third, Shakespeare was a safe and a suitable vehicle for actors playing to a provincial audience.<sup>12</sup>

*University of South Carolina*

<sup>11</sup> *SCG.*, May 20, 1774. The Latin phrase is probably from this line of Horace's *Ars Poetica*: "Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci."

<sup>12</sup> This article is a revision of a paper bearing the same title which was presented at the Renaissance Society (Southeast) at Duke University on April 18, 1952.

# Shakespeare Through the Camera's Eye—

## *Julius Caesar* in Motion Pictures; *Hamlet* and *Othello* on Television

ALICE VENEZKY GRIFFIN



THREE recent presentations of Shakespeare on the motion-picture and television screens reveal that many of the qualities of a Shakespeare play can be preserved in these media, which, if used with art and integrity, can bring out new meanings and relationships in noteworthy and stimulating productions. Their obvious advantage is that they can bring acted Shakespeare to a much wider audience than ever before possible.

The new MGM film, *Julius Caesar*, and the recent television productions of *Hamlet* by the National Broadcasting Company and *Othello* presented in Canada by the Canadian Broadcasting Company, are productions that utilize the advantages of the camera in telling a story and revealing character in a visual medium. The two-hour *Caesar* marks a definite advance for Hollywood over its earlier Shakespearian films like *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Romeo and Juliet*, which were not so much Shakespeare as they were Hollywood's elaboration of a plot from Shakespeare. *Julius Caesar* is the best Shakespeare film Hollywood has made, and in the opinion of at least one viewer, is superior to Olivier's film *Hamlet*, though not his *Henry V*.

A good deal of the credit probably should go to John Houseman, producer of the film, and a man familiar with Shakespeare productions, having co-directed the Mercury Theatre, which put on *Julius Caesar* and Shakespeare's chronicle plays, and more recently he directed *King Lear* on Broadway. Working with director Joseph L. Mankiewicz, Houseman has produced a suspenseful and dramatic film *Caesar*, true to the text, beautifully spoken, and generally well acted.

Director Mankiewicz has used the camera to provide an underlying rhythm which gives a good continuity from scene to scene, mounts in tension and suspense through the conspiracy and assassination, the funeral orations, the battle and finally the deaths of Cassius and Brutus.

The opening scenes exemplify this fluidity and rhythm, with the camera focusing upon certain key objects, like the bust of Caesar in the opening frame, and then as Flavius and Marullus are arrested by the armed guards, upon the staff of the blind, Teiresias-like soothsayer, as the triumphal procession of Caesar bursts onto the scene. After the procession has passed, the camera moves in on the faces of Cassius, played by John Gielgud, and Brutus, by James Mason. It

follows Cassius and Brutus, as Cassius makes his overtures to Brutus, up the outdoor steps to a portico, from which they signal to Casca. At the end of the scene, Cassius walks "into" the camera, looking the audience straight in the eyes as he delivers his soliloquy, "Well, Brutus, thou art noble . . ." standing alone in the now-deserted, flower-strewn square. The wind that begins to blow the festival hangings and sweep these flowers along is the transition to the raging storm of the next scene (I. iii).

The only difficulty with this technique is that the camera may become restless, as is true in Brutus' soliloquy in his orchard (II. i.). There is so much movement in this scene (a general fault with Olivier's *Hamlet*), that the audience may be distracted from the sense of the speech.

More than any other Shakespeare film, including Olivier's, *Julius Caesar* is to be commended for its clarity and integration. To those who may for the first time be seeing Shakespeare played, the speeches will very likely be more meaningful than those in Olivier's *Hamlet*, where the tempo varied from too slow to too fast.

John Gielgud is brilliant as the envious and hasty revolutionist, Cassius, whose lack of vision destroys him. Those who saw Gielgud in this role at Stratford-on-Avon in 1950 will observe that he is presenting the same character, but has altered from a stage to a motion picture technique that is more impressive than anything seen on the screen to date. A master of bodily movement on the legitimate stage, Gielgud, through the closeups, depends on his features, and his use of his eyes, his mouth, and even his breathing is outstanding for subtlety in this medium.

James Mason's Brutus is also well portrayed, with Mason stressing the character's idealism and reflectiveness as a perfect foil to Cassius' realism and hastiness. For sheer acting, their scenes, the meeting at the triumphal celebration in Act I and the argument in Brutus's tent in Act IV, are the best in the film.

In his portrayal of Caesar, Louis Calhern is large in stature, but his Caesar is not. He underplays too much; his Caesar is more the suave character of drawing-room comedy than a potentially dangerous dictator who is fatuous and pompous, but on the grand scale. He is not the buffoon Calhern makes of him. This interpretation robs the play of its proper unity, for Caesar, dead or alive, should dominate the action. Although there is a substitute unity, that provided by the characters of Brutus and Cassius, it might be argued that this is a distortion of the play's full value. Because of the fine acting of Gielgud, Mason and the other conspirators, notably John Hoyt as Decius Brutus, the assassination scene is well done. Music underlines the mounting suspense, with the stabbing itself filmed at close range. The conspirators, including Cassius, surround Caesar, but Brutus backs away, hesitating, dagger in hand. Caesar, spotting him, breaks away from the conspirators and goes toward Brutus for help, but is stabbed.

The young American actor Marlon Brando is an athletic Antony, his speech clear but lacking in range and modulation. He seems to have taken his key to the character from the funeral oration: "a plain blunt man that love my friend." However, these lines are generally interpreted not as the character of Antony but as the character he cleverly wishes the crowd to believe Antony is. As to the "shrewd contriver" who is "given to sports, to wildness and much

company," none of these characteristics are apparent in Brando's interpretation. He does not "orate" the famous funeral address, but rasps it, without the music or variety that is in the lines.

The direction of this scene (III. ii), however, comes close to brilliant, because the crowd is used much as a chorus, and it is their reaction to Antony's oration, rather than the orator, which makes the impression upon the audience. In the most dramatic single shot in the film, when Antony appears with the body of Caesar in his arms, the crowd gasps, and the audience follows suit. Mankiewicz effectively uses closeups of individuals in the crowd, and the group itself is not just a "cast of thousands" but a good dramatic entity.

Like Brando, Edmond O'Brien as Casca seems to take his cue from a descriptive line, "What a blunt fellow is this grown to be!" but he plays the character in this one-sided way, without regard to Cassius's perceptive remark that "he puts on this tardy form/ This rudeness is a sauce to his good wit. . . ."

The women's roles were adequately played by Deborah Kerr as Portia and Greer Garson as Calpurnia, though the latter seemed determined to make more of a small part than was "set down" for her, and both were attired and coiffured in too modern a fashion, in contrast to the men.

Douglas Watson was very impressive as Octavius, and conveyed a characterization in the brief scenes in which he appeared. The film brings out the contrast implied in the text, between the youth of Octavius and Antony and the middle age and experience of Cassius and Brutus, a point often overlooked in casting this play.

The chief omissions occur in the battle scenes, the victory of Antony and Octavius being summed up by an ambush in a ravine, impressively, almost ritualistically done, though somewhat reminiscent of Hollywood Westerns. Besides the cuts in Act V, also omitted is Shakespeare's short scene (III. iii) which terrifyingly portrays Cinna the poet at the mercy of mob violence. For continuity, the first scene of Act III follows II. iii, skipping the scene which follows, depicting Portia, the servant and the soothsayer. Unforgivable is the cutting of Octavius' final speech, possibly filmdom's concession to its star, Mr. Brando. However, Octavius' lines are important to give the effect (like the ending of Greek tragedy) that the stream of life flows on, despite the losses we have witnessed.

The film was made in black and white to stress the starkness of the tragedy, and the settings designed by Edward Carfagno provided an artistic background for the dramatic action.

The longest drama ever done on American television, a two-hour production of *Hamlet* by NBC on April 26, with Maurice Evans in the title role, was heralded with so much fanfare that it is little wonder that the production did not live up to expectations. What did emerge was Evans' clear-cut if not profound characterization, but no sense of over-all tragedy, chiefly because the acting was so uneven and the time so short. (Playing time was a little over one and one-half hours.) The direction by Albert McCleery and George Schaefer revealed a number of imaginative touches designed to lend fluidity to the action and to point up relationships between the characters.

As he has played it on the stage, Evans' Hamlet is a vigorous young man,

an interpretation not unfamiliar to modern scholars and staggers. Evans says of his portrayal: "too often Hamlet has been played as a study in dyspepsia rather than as the inner conflict of a man who was a very normal human being caught up in a web of circumstance which sets him to questioning the values and standards by which he has lived. Hamlet has been called a psychopath. I think he just has universal reaction to a pretty staggering problem."

Evans and Barry Jones as Polonius were much the best performers on the show, with Jones adding a touch of sympathy and humor to the old statesman, but not playing him as a comic character.

On the distaff side, Sarah Churchill as Ophelia and Ruth Chatterton as Gertrude were so inadequate in their roles that the viewer might well have wondered whether they did not appear on this program by mistake, having actually been destined for some other television production, like a mystery thriller. In addition to her acting Ophelia like a debutante just out of finishing school, Miss Churchill's costume and coiffure were quite modern and completely out of key with the rest of the production.

Joseph Schildkraut's Claudius was a cold, somewhat intellectual king, lacking any of the ardor which the text ascribes to him. Also, his foreign accent was somewhat distracting. The minor roles were adequately portrayed, with the exception of Laertes, this actor neither looking the part nor acting it convincingly. Wesley Addy (Edgar in the Broadway production of *Lear* in 1950) was a sympathetic Horatio, but his voice lacked lyricism in the farewell speech.

Mildred Freed Alberg and Tom Sand, who adapted the text, probably did as well as can be expected, working within such limits. They reduced none of the speeches that they did include and did not cut Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, as did Olivier's film version, but used these characters as visual symbols of the strength of Claudius' side against Hamlet. One can understand that Fortinbras, so important to establish the fact that Hamlet does right the wrongs done to Denmark, had to be omitted because of time limits, but it seems inexcusable to omit the lines in V. ii, beginning "We defy augury; there's a special providence in the fall of a sparrow," lines so important to Hamlet's character. The gravedigger scene was cut, as was the soliloquy, "How all occasions do inform against me." As in Olivier's film, the "To be or not to be" was transposed, and the television version also transposed the first and second scenes of Act I. Closeups were generally confined to objects rather than characters, most of the scenes being medium shots. One effective closeup showed Gertrude's hand on Hamlet's in I. i, and then the King's hand withdrawing hers. Also, the exchange of rapiers between Hamlet and Laertes in the final scene was clearly defined.

Richard Sylbert's set, covering a 60' by 70' area, was visually helpful and generally uncluttered, depicting various Victorian interiors. The costumes were of this period too. In these trappings, the King and Queen seemed more like upper-class Victorians, however, than the rulers of Denmark. The Player King and Queen were attired, as in Evans' stage productions, like playing-card royalty. The chief playing areas were the throne chamber and anteroom, the Queen's closet, Ophelia's bedroom, and Polonius' quarters, with outdoor scenes on the platform done against steps. The Ghost was most impressively portrayed in these scenes, his face superimposed upon the scene and growing larger and larger, with Hamlet in the background. The "To be or not to be" soliloquy was

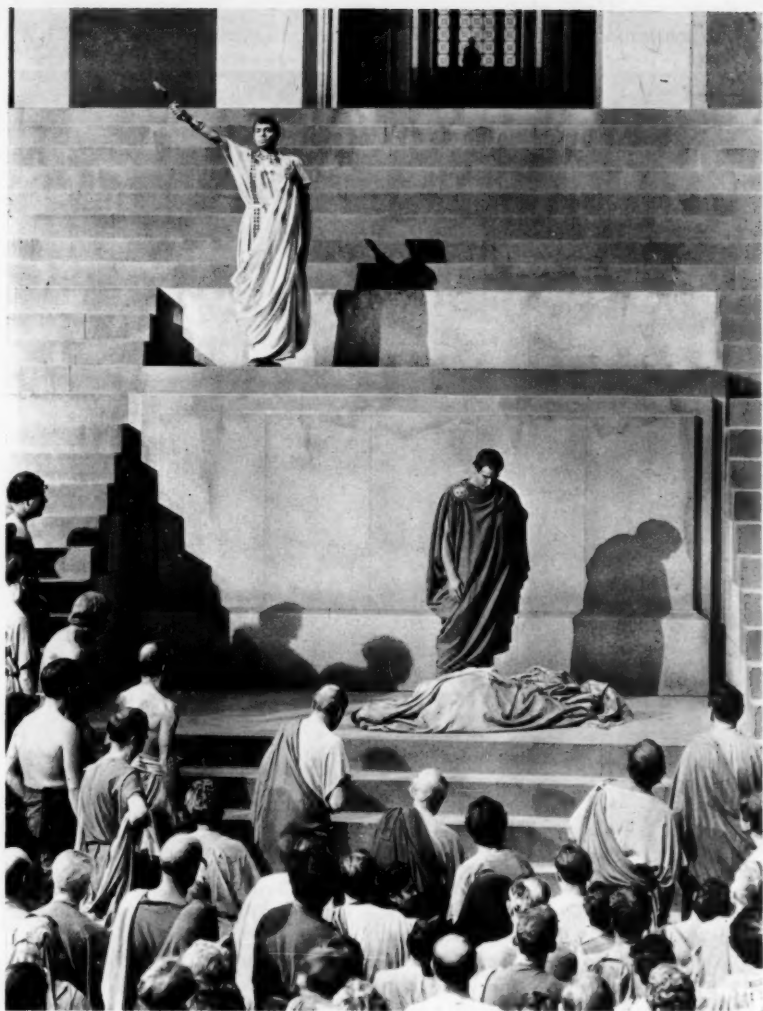


Maurice Evans as Hamlet in the NBC television production. Stairs behind Evans used for platform scene; throne room at right; Polonius' quarters in background.

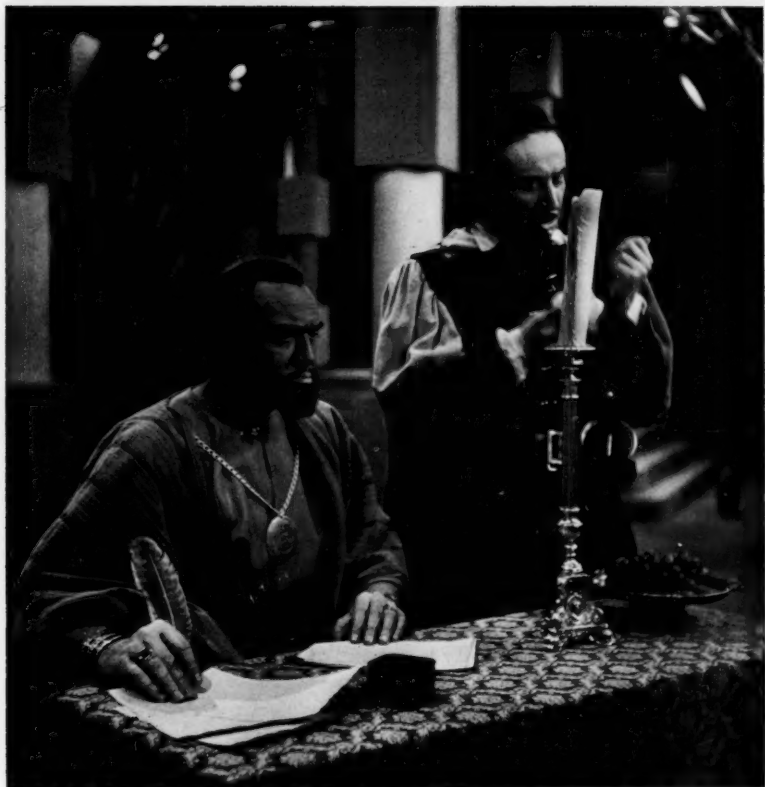


Brutus (James Mason) and Cassius (John Gielgud, above) with the conspirators in II. i. of the MGM film version of *Julius Caesar*.





The funeral orations (III. ii) James Mason, above, as Brutus, Marlon Brando, below, as Antony, in the MGM film version of *Julius Caesar*.



Lorne Greene as Othello and Josef Furst as Iago in the televised production of *Othello* by the Canadian Broadcasting Company. (Photo by Toles, Toronto)

staged with Hamlet looking at his reflection in a pool, a touch that seemed forced and "arty," and Ophelia's mad scene was played in bed, probably less painful than seeing this actress in motion.

The technical difficulties were surprising in view of the usual high standards on American television. Offstage noises distracted during the soliloquies, and while Evans was reciting the "Oh what a rogue and peasant slave am I," an overalled stage-hand wandered into camera range.

The Canadian Broadcasting Company's *Othello* was a more genuinely artistic and successful effort to present Shakespeare in the television medium. Adapted and directed by David Greene and starring Lorne Greene, the production was marked by imagination, dramatic unity and ensemble acting.

Since the playing time was only one and one-half hours, minus two three-minute intermissions, the text unfortunately had to be cut, but Mr. Greene pruned as judiciously as possible under the circumstances. As was true of the above-discussed productions, here again the camera was used to good advantage to establish relationships, to reveal subtle reactions through closeup, and to focus on the significant detail in a key scene.

The production opened on a note of tension, with Iago and Roderigo conversing in whispers behind a wall, and watching Othello and Desdemona getting into a gondola, assisted by Cassio, thus identifying the characters pictorially as they were mentioned in the dialogue. Then Iago pushed Roderigo forward to waken Brabantio and joined in the hue and cry from his hiding place behind the wall.

Othello was introduced to the audience in the Duke's council chamber (I. iii), where he stood accused by Brabantio. The camera traveled over the Duke's shoulder to focus on this majestic figure, and from his first speech, Lorne Greene was impressive as a figure of dignity, with his rich-toned voice adding to this impression. From that moment, Othello, with his simple nobility, gained and held the sympathy of the audience. Although his makeup showed his complexion darker than the others (but not negroid, so that most references to the "black" Othello were omitted), the impression of the character as an alien among the Venetians was also borne out by his massive size, his exotic costume, and his simplicity and straightforwardness in contrast to the complexity and craftiness of the others.

The other principals were generally good, with the exception of Peggy Loder, who was never quite convincing as Desdemona. Josef Furst's Iago emerged as a character of intense, cold cruelty, without the subtlety or complexity of Jose Ferrer's performance of that role on Broadway in 1943. The well-meaning Cassio was exceptionally well portrayed by Patrick McNee, and Katherine Blake's performance as the cynical Emilia was likewise outstanding, while Richard Easton was an effective Roderigo.

The climactic scenes between Iago and Othello in the third act were well staged and enacted. Acting in the grand manner a Shakespearian hero demands, but always keeping the character under control, Lorne Greene built up the passion of the tormented Moor to the physical breakdown in IV. i, most strikingly done as an epileptic fit.

The final scenes were dramatically staged by director Greene, using the

television camera advantageously as it followed Othello, on his way to Desdemona's chamber, through a long gallery, where, with the shadows of the arches alternately shadowing him, he walked full into a camera close-up of his anguished face. Another special touch was that the dazed Othello only thought he closed the curtains to Desdemona's bed, so that the body remained in full view until the end.

Through the close-up lens, the handkerchief was given the almost symbolic importance Shakespeare attaches to it, a significance difficult to convey in a stage production. Having received the handkerchief from Iago as proof of Desdemona's infidelity, Othello, when Iago suggests strangling, wrings the handkerchief in his hands, as he says, "good, good, the justice of it pleases me," and again, through the close-up, we see that he does strangle Desdemona with this handkerchief. The camera is also used, as it was by Olivier, to show a scene in pantomime while it is being described; here it is done for Othello's speech in the first act, telling how Desdemona fell in love with him, but it is not quite successful, partly due to the limitations of Miss Loder as the heroine.


Director Greene uses an effective device for soliloquy which is also employed in the film *Julius Caesar*, and that is to have the actor, in Elizabethan style, speak directly to the audience, with the close-up lens approximating the kind of intimacy that the platform stage afforded. Both the lighting by Tom Nutt and sets by Nicolai Soloviev were impressive, while Bartok's Concerto for Orchestra proved excellent background music for a production that merits a showing in the United States.

*Hunter College*

# Shakespeare in Indiana

## A Report on the "Shakespeare Meeting" of the Indiana College English Association

FREDRICK L. BERGMANN

HAT Shakespeare remains a vital force in Midwestern America today is a truism which need not be labored. Although Midwesterners may look with longing to the frequent revivals of the plays on the New York stage and deplore the fact that too few road companies refresh their spirits with productions of Shakespeare, interest in the dramatist and his works transcends the mere academic. But with fewer Shakespeare plays on the road today and with the almost total eclipse of elocutionary readings as a medium of culture and entertainment, it has fallen more and more upon the colleges and universities to provide the intellectual and emotional sustenance which Shakespeare offers. It will be the burden of this report to show by example that the schools are meeting the challenge.

It may be said that the vitality of Shakespeare is nurtured in the Middle West by the colleges and universities. The occasional road companies performing the plays today—such as the Barter Theater, which excels in ingenious staging and well-edited texts—are frequently sponsored by the schools of this area. Drama departments present the plays on the campuses. And Shakespeare courses hold their prominent place in the curricula of the English departments. At DePauw University, for example, the Shakespeare course rates as one of the best in the department and has one of the highest enrollments. DePauw, a co-educational school situated in Greencastle, Indiana, is largely an undergraduate institution; no pressure is put on its 1700 students to take the course in Shakespeare, and the English majors are not preparing for degree-examinations which would require detailed knowledge of the plays. Shakespeare is an elective course, and students in gratifying numbers elect to take it. One of the active campus organizations, the Shakespeare Club, grew out of this course and keeps its roots in it. It is made up entirely of students who are enthusiastic about the bard and anxious to express this enthusiasm by acting in plays, building model theaters, and in other ways showing their devotion to Shakespeare. A dinner and program celebrating Shakespeare's birthday has become a fixed item on the university calendar.

Another Indiana school, again a small one, has led in the establishment of an annual Shakespeare Festival. This is Taylor University, a Methodist-supported school of approximately 500 enrollment at Upland, Indiana. Here the

entire school enters into the project of maintaining the vitality of Shakespeare for the people of the state. The festival includes productions of the plays, learned discussions, panels of Shakespeare teachers and experts. At Taylor, Shakespeare becomes a part of the lives of the students, who communicate that vitality to those attending the festival.

Still another indication of the interest in Shakespeare in this section of the country is to be found in the fact that the eighteenth annual meeting of the Indiana College English Association, held this year on May 8 and 9 at DePauw University, was devoted exclusively to Shakespeare. This meeting, attended by teachers of English from more than twenty schools, exemplified the continued interest in Shakespeare. Teachers of composition and teachers of literature, teachers whose interests lie in American literature, in freshman English, in drama, in nineteenth-century poetry—all were willing to forego the usual round of learned papers in their fields of special interest in order to spend two days on lectures centered on this single subject and on group discussions of teaching the plays. Teachers of English in the state's secondary schools were also invited to attend.

In this first attempt in the history of the Association to provide a unified theme for the annual meeting, the choice of a subject was not difficult. For the program committee, under the leadership of James A. Work, chairman of the Department of English at Indiana University, had been fortunate in securing as the main speaker Louis B. Wright, director of the Folger Shakespeare Library. Dr. Wright agreed to discuss "The Vitality of Shakespeare" at the dinner meeting of the Association, and the remainder of the program fell easily into place. Allen B. Kellogg, head of the department at Indiana Central College, Indianapolis, and president of the Association, was a guiding figure in arranging the program.

For the three sessions of the meeting, it was decided that the first would be devoted to the reading of papers by members of the Association, the second to the annual dinner and address, and the third to discussion groups. A reception honoring Dr. Wright and the annual business meeting were also provided for. This program followed the usual pattern of Association meetings; the program committee merely centered each of the three sessions on Shakespeare.

The plan of the first session, held on Friday afternoon, May 8, was to present three different aspects of Shakespeare interest—teaching, study, and research—in three formal papers. The first paper considered "Shakespeare and Freshmen." In it Ralph Collins of Indiana University told of his school's Shakespeare course on the freshman level. He detailed the plays chosen for the course and indicated the great value which intensive study of Shakespeare has for the college beginner.

In the second paper Professor Kellogg explained the operation of the Shakespeare Institute at Stratford. Opened in 1951 for advanced studies in Shakespeare and related subjects, the Institute, the speaker pointed out, not only offers the student an opportunity to hear lectures by recognized scholars, but presents a series of the plays in the New Theatre and provides for excursions through the Shakespeare country. He cited the advantage of having the plays given, not by a permanent company, but by a blended team of high talent which provides theatrical entertainment during a 33-week period. He

also praised the background provided in Elizabethan music, played on sixteenth-century instruments. Sojourns in the Shakespeare country—for example, witnessing the Morris and sword dances performed to the pipe and tabor at Chipping Campden—increase the fascination which this section of England holds for scholars and teachers of Shakespeare, he said.

The third paper developed yet another field of interest. Francis Fergusson, well-known critic and then visiting professor of literary criticism at Indiana University, discussed "Varieties of Shakespeare's Comedy." Commenting on the abundance of types of comedy to be found in the plays, from the sardonic to the tender, from the subtle quip to the guffaw, Dr. Fergusson exemplified his thesis that, taking such stock comic situations as mistaken identity, Shakespeare elaborates and refines, out-Plautusing Plautus in exaggeration and achieving almost perfect unity of action, plot, and tone. Thus in such a play as *The Comedy of Errors* each episode is a clever variation on the basic theme, a sort of perpetual-motion machine which might go on indefinitely were the farce not ended by a change of mood. Such humor, he said, is aimed at the perennial popular theater and depends less on characterization than on clever twists of plot, which mesh perfectly. On the other hand, in such a play as *Much Ado about Nothing* the dramatist emphasizes insight rather than ingenuity. Here three divergent narrative lines blend to portray man's delusions as laughable. Despite the quibbles, puns, and conceits of Beatrice and Benedick, the real joke is not in what they say, but in their relationship. The prevailing mood of the play may be called "golden," the speaker said. Its threads are united in a series of ritual ceremonies which, besides leading to the reconciliation of the two characters, presents a poetic-comic version of mankind.

Dr. Wright's address following the dinner meeting summed up the very reason for the program's being. Drawing upon his store of information about the cultural past of America, he described the westward movement of interest in and productions of Shakespeare's plays in this country, showing how fundamental is this interest in the cultural make-up of Americans. Tied in with the discussion was a tracing of the rise and growth of bardolatry from the time of David Garrick to our own day.

Dr. Wright's theme of the *living* quality of the Shakespeare plays led directly to the business of the next session, held on Saturday morning, when three discussion groups considered "Problems in Teaching Shakespeare." One group, led by Edna Hayes Taylor of DePauw, considered the teaching of the comedies; a second, led by Robert W. Babcock of Purdue University, considered the tragedies; and the third, guided by Paul E. McLane of the University of Notre Dame, concerned itself with the teaching of the history plays.

In discussing the teaching of the comedies, Professor Taylor maintained that it is the job of the teacher to break down a wall which exists between Shakespeare and students. The comedies, she feels, are a logical starting-place for removing this barrier, for the college campus is on every page of the plays—Benedick and Beatrice were graduated only last year. Members of the discussion group concurred, and it was generally felt that it is best to begin college classes in Shakespeare with a romantic play. The objective of the teacher, according to the discussion leader, is to arouse enthusiasm in the students. DePauw students do not merely read the plays; they engage in a variety of activities con-



nected with this reading. Some teach Shakespeare in the public grade schools as class "projects," training, for example, second-graders in group pantomime for the reading of the Queen Mab story. Others take Shakespeare's characters into art classes of the public schools, while still others arrange for the children to make tape recordings of scenes from the plays. The object is not only to make Shakespeare live for the children, but to develop the enthusiasm of the college student. Professor Taylor's students demonstrated for the discussion group their interpretation of some of the scenes from the plays. It was the consensus of the group that this teaching method perhaps best develops the necessary enthusiasm of the student. The most remarkable characteristic of the demonstration was the enthusiasm with which the students entered into acting scenes and singing songs from the plays, and the complete lack of self-consciousness with which they performed. As a result of this program of teaching, the students do not think of Shakespeare as a course of study; an interest has been aroused which they will maintain throughout their lives. Members of the discussion group deplored the loss of the old-time stock companies which annually presented a repertoire of Shakespeare plays in the hinterlands.


Independently of Professor Taylor's group, Professor Babcock, leading the discussion on teaching the tragedies, developed the same general idea. One's method must be defined in terms of one's purpose, he said; thus the teacher must remember that he is dealing in the main with young people who want to read Shakespeare and are willing to develop appreciation. One teaches a play, according to Professor Babcock, in order to lead the student to other plays. This technique, he feels, is superior to both the literary and the theatrical methods. Professor Babcock proposed the method of reading at great length from the play at hand, taking a play almost line for line and explaining as the teacher goes along. Thus he feels that it is better to consider only a few plays thoroughly than to cover a great number hurriedly. There was no unanimity of opinion on this point, several members of the group feeling that the teacher does not accomplish enough if the plays are considered in great detail. Another point considered by this group was the question of the scholarly approach to teaching Shakespeare in college. It was felt that this approach is frequently over emphasized, particularly by teachers fresh from graduate school. And whereas some members of the group suggested the more extensive use of recordings and the urging of students to see Shakespeare movies and television productions, others felt that there is too much emphasis on *visualizing* the plays, on attempting to have the student see each scene as if on an Elizabethan stage. It was agreed that it is vitally important for the teacher to teach the student *how to read* a play and thus to encourage him to read others.

In his discussion of teaching methods for the history plays, Professor McLane emphasized the value of understanding political problems of the Elizabethan age in interpreting Shakespeare. He evaluated several critical works relating to the history plays, and the group discussed the general content of a course in Shakespeare. Professor McLane was opposed to the notion that a Shakespeare play be included in freshman survey courses in literature because of insufficient time to treat the subject adequately. Other members of the group, however, felt strongly that Shakespeare belongs in the literature survey course.

In summary, the discussion groups on "Problems in Teaching Shakespeare" agreed on the necessity of developing appreciation as the first goal of teaching the plays. Recorded and filmed teaching aids were generally approved, but not as taking the place of teaching the student how to read the plays. And the greatest aim, stemming from the developed appreciation, is to produce enthusiasm for the plays. From this comes the knowledge, usefulness, and life-long acquaintance which makes Shakespeare the vital force he remains today.

The objective of the Indiana College English Association's "Shakespeare Meeting" was not to produce startling innovations in the teaching of the plays. Rather, the very fact that such a meeting could be held, concentrating the interest of 150 Indiana English teachers on one writer, proves the contrary. The meeting was above all an affirmation of faith in a tradition—the tradition which is Shakespeare. The meeting was a sharing of ideas by a number of leaders in the intellectual life of the state, many of whom have never taught a course in Shakespeare. But each brought with him the enthusiasm which he felt must be transmitted to the student, and each departed with that enthusiasm, if not increased, at least intact.

*DePauw University*



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VERPLANCK'S EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE, [1844]

Prospectus of Gulian C. Verplanck's Edition, appearing on pages [2, 3, 7, and 8] of *Hewet's Illustrated Quarterly Advertiser*, No. 2 (March, 1844). Determined to produce a truly American edition, H. W. Hewet secured the services of Verplanck as editor and Robert W. Wier as designer and illustrator. The edition, in some 120 parts, precedes by three years the so-called first Verplanck edition in three volumes published by Harper in 1847. See also page 367.

## Reviews

*Shakespeare and Elizabethan Poetry. A Study of his Earlier Work in Relation to the Poetry of the Time.* By M. C. BRADBROOK. New York: Oxford University Press, 1952. Pp. viii + 279. \$3.50.

The title and subtitle of Miss Bradbrook's book are amended in her preface to read "Shakespeare's plays and poems and their relation to the poetry and life of his age," but even so amended the title does not well sum up the contents. The book undoubtedly treats Shakespeare's early plays and poems and also the poetry and life of his age, but it does not go far to bring them together—least of all in any steadily perceived relationship. It consists of four chapters on Elizabethan poetry and life and eight on Shakespeare. The first chapter sketches, in 17 pages, some of the fundamentals of medieval thought, points out how the Renaissance reshaped them, and assumes a split between a Platonic and an Epicurean view of the universe which runs through Renaissance thought. The second chapter ("The Artifice of Eternity") discusses courtly poetry and platonic love, with special attention to Sidney, Spenser, and *The Phoenix and the Turtle*. The third chapter ("The Web of Being") is on courtly poetry and theories of poetry and the species of popular drama. Chapter IV treats the Ovidian romances, especially those written by Lodge, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Chapman, and Drayton. The fifth chapter ("The Flowing Tide") takes up "Shakespeare and Elizabethan English." In view of the title of the book, this might be expected to be crucial, and in the second of its three subdivisions it does assert some far-reaching generalizations about Shakespeare's manner of writing, but the first subdivision is on "Medieval thought and Shakespeare's work" and the third, labeled "his use of current literary theory," is mostly about Shakespeare's position in the theater during the nineties and the flexibility and complexity of his response to experience as expressed in his plays. Chapter VI ("The Mirror of Nature") considers "character in Shakespeare's plays." The rest of the book treats the early plays and the poems in small groups—*Titus, Lucrece*, and *Romeo and Juliet* (Chapter VII, "Moral Heraldry"), *Henry VI, Richard III, Richard II* (Chapter VIII, "Tragical-historical"), the sonnets, *The Two Gentlemen, Dream* (Chapter IX, "The Fashioning of a Courtier"), *All's Well, The Merchant, Much Ado* (Chapter X, "Polyphonic Music"), the Prince Hal plays (Chapter XI, "Comical-historical"), *Love's Labour's Lost, As You Like It, Twelfth Night* (Chapter XII, "Comical-fantastic").

But though in duty bound to point out the lack of a central idea persistently followed, of short, easy, clear transitions from topic to topic, and of a tidy and discreetly proportioned survey of the whole subject, I do not wish to emphasize it. The virtues of the book do not lie in organization or strictly defined scope. They lie rather in the author's originality and suggestiveness. Ranging freely through Elizabethan and earlier literature and a considerable variety of tangential subjects, she constantly strikes out telling and challenging observations which open up interesting, sometimes novel, vistas for the student of Shakespeare, Elizabethan poetry, and literature in general. A book of comparable richness of ideas is a rare event. Perhaps I can suggest something of its quality by comparing it with two utterly different books which I happen to have read at the same time. In *Shakespeare's Motley* Dr. Hotson expands his determination

of the meaning of the word *motley* into a book of 133 pages. Miss Bradbrook often scatters a dozen ideas of far greater range and penetration over a single page. Professor Evans' *Language of Shakespeare's Plays*, ostensibly concerned with much the same subject as Miss Bradbrook's, is all that her book is not—methodical, deliberate, conscientious in fully mapping the territory. But anything as perceptive as one of Miss Bradbrook's more casual insights is far to seek. Indeed, if I were required to name the capital fault of Miss Bradbrook's book, I would not specify its loose plan or its ragged articulation but its almost stupefying profusion. Her unit of thought is the sentence or the paragraph, and so many sentences and paragraphs invite reexamination or suggest extension that one's progress is constantly halted. The book is impossible to summarize, even bit by bit, and my resumé of its contents above is hopelessly inadequate as an index to its abundance. With a little exaggeration, one might say this is a seedbed of many books rather than a book.

A writer as wide-ranging and fertile as Miss Bradbrook, whose method of striking out pregnant generalizations is almost aphoristic, inevitably challenges the reader's judgment in almost every line, and it would be easy to draw up a list of assertions one would like to set a question mark against or attach qualifications to or combat. The temptation is especially strong to attach ballast to some of Miss Bradbrook's ascents in the free balloon of strong imagination or to ask for clarification of ideas too drastically condensed or imperfectly precipitated in the author's mind. But the important thing about this book is not that some of its assertions are questionable but that some of them are most provocative—the discussion of Sidney's poetry and the elaboration of the idea that courtly love was a liberal education (pp. 22 ff.), the characterization of the imagery of the later revenge plays (43), the appreciation of *Hero and Leander* (58 ff.) and the justification of Chapman's palinode to it (66 ff.), the remarks on the interdependence of Shakespeare's characters (86 ff.) and the various "degrees of naturalism and symbolism" among them (93 f.), the analysis of the originality of *Romeo and Juliet* (116 ff.), the whittling down to size of the idea that the two parts of *Henry IV* are morality plays of a sort (195 f.), the comparison of *Henry V* and *Edward III* (209 f.), and the illumination of the humor of *As You Like It* (219 ff.). These, and others equally illuminating and stimulating, seem to me to make the book highly rewarding reading for all students of Shakespeare and Elizabethan literature.

M. A. SHAABER

University of Pennsylvania

*Shakespeare's Motley*. By LESLIE HOTSON. New York: Oxford University Press, 1952. Pp. x + 133. \$3.50. London: Rupert Hart-Davis. 21s.

Dr. Leslie Hotson's latest work is full of things which all Shakespeare-readers will need to absorb. A number of glossaries and notes are going to have to have themselves altered in their next editions. I attempt to summarise the main things which Hotson has established.

1. In Elizabethan plays, the fool wore not hood and doublet (or jerkin), but cap and long coat (or petticoat).

2. "Motley" is not composed of patches of material of different colors. It is a cloth woven of mixed threads. We in England to-day should call it, I fancy, "heather-mixture." Green was its usual basic color. Under the name of "Kentish cloth" it was, in Denmark, fashionable court wear. In England it had numerous and baser uses. It was made into inferior saddles and portmanteaux. The green

variety was the livery of the royal huntsmen. A check variety was used for the making of barbers' aprons. It was worn by artisans, peasants, domestic jesters, and soldiers. It was the stock-stuff for an idiot's robe.

3. "A motley to the view" was not a stage-player but a "buffoon in company."

4. There was an Elizabethan stock jest by which "cloak-bag" was used as a synonym for "fool," or more particularly "boring fool." When Falstaff was called "a stuffed cloak-bag of guts," he was being accused of folly as well as fatness.

5. The word "gentle" (applied to Coriolanus, Ferdinand of Naples, Philip Sidney, William Shakespeare, Aetion and, above all, Brutus) has had its meaning "narrowed and weakened since Shakespeare's day."

Those are the main things which Hotson satisfactorily shows. His last chapter is an admirable brief life of Robert Armin. He makes other suggestions which may convince some but not all of us. And there are further suggestions and deductions which I cannot swallow.

He argues for the Dryden-Rowe identification of Shakespeare with the "gentle spirit" of *The Teares of the Muses* and the Aetion of *Colin Clout*. Maybe yes, maybe no. I'm never going to be entirely happy about hypotheses based upon the hypothetical manuscript circulation of unprinted material. We know that Shakespeare's private friends had by 1598 seen his sugared sonnets. We do not know that (1) they had seen them by 1590, or that (2) Edmund Spenser was one of them. Hotson gives us, without argument, the identification of "pleasant Willy" with Richard Tarleton. This identification has long seemed to me to go counter to what we know about Tarleton and what we know about Spenser's likes and dislikes.

Hotson emends Petruchio's old mothy saddle to an old motley one. I think he is right. But old saddles often are mothy and the three other examples of "the same misprint" make one begin to wonder if alternative spellings may not be involved. He suggests also that "sack," "baggage" and "poke" are—as is "cloak-bag"—equated with "fool" or "fool's garb." His case here is inadequately argued. There is a curious tie-up between motley and hawthorn about which I should like to know more.

The by-the-way suggestion that when Boyet was as willing to grapple as he was to board, there is a quibble involving bourding (=jesting) as well as boarding (in the naumachic sense) is patently correct; the spelling of the first quarto is "boord." I should have been glad, in the Armin chapter, to have read Hotson's views about the oddness of Armin's connection with Gilbert Dugdale and about Armin's intimate knowledge of a certain noble house displayed in the dedication of *The Italian Taylor*.

As John of the Hospital limped (p. 103), it would seem that the most carefully cut woodcut of the title-page of *The Two Maids* shows a noticeable malformation of the left leg and foot and must indicate Armin's—can one call it "make-up"?—for the part.

Hotson's book has much to teach me, but I found that it irritated me in places. I am unhappy about that author-reader relationship which leads Hotson to be so ungenerous with references and to write of Robin Armin and Dick Tarleton. I am unhappy about Hotson's Alexandrine views on how often it is necessary to rout foes and slay the slain and about those irrelevant divagations which arise from the rich width of his Elizabethan learning and have made an expensive book out of what could surely have been a couple of articles in a learned periodical. I cannot push away the impression that Leslie Hotson is becoming so much of a Sherlock Holmes that he cannot retrieve a dropped penny from



under the sofa without calling in Lestrade, Gregson, and young Stanley Hopkins to watch his methods.

I find that I have from this book noted down over 50 things which I shall have to remember. So why should I be cavilling?

JOHN CROW

King's College, London

*Bedlam on the Jacobean Stage.* By ROBERT RENTOUL REED, JR. Pp. x + 190. Harvard University Press, 1952. \$3.50.

In *Bedlam on the Jacobean Stage* Robert Rentoul Reed, Jr., has assembled a remarkable diversity of materials relating to Bedlam, madness, melancholy, and related subjects, and has endeavored to show the various ways in which Jacobean drama drew upon them. His demonstration takes him from rich spectacles as the sensational parade of Bedlamites in Dekker's *The Honest Whore*, Part I, to the subtleties of psychopathology in the portrait of Penthea in Ford's *The Broken Heart*. Professor Reed wisely avoids an excessively historical approach on the one hand, and an exclusively modern psychiatric approach on the other, and is in general well aware of the dangers that beset the literary psychoanalyst of fictional characters.

The book begins with a straightforward historical account of Bethlehem Hospital, from its establishment as a priory in 1247 until, in the mid-sixteenth century, it became primarily an asylum for the insane, and, in due course, an inspiration to playwrights and a common show to the sensation-seeking Londoner. There is also an excursion on medieval theories of treatment for madness, which looks forward to practices employed at Bedlam. (In this connection, the author's assertion that "the burying of live cocks under the ground as a cure for the madness of a human being . . . appears to have been the product of crass superstition" [pp. 10-11] seems a notable understatement.)

Chapter 2, "Bedlam and the Theater," takes up the various plays in which Bedlam and other madhouses were actually represented on the stage. "Theories of Mental Pathology and Conduct" deals with the work of Vicary, Bright, and Huarte on the physiological and psychological causes of madness; and the third chapter concludes with some notes on Machiavelli, who is asserted to have supplied the "social background" of intrigue against which the Jacobean playwrights projected their tragedies. From these theorists Professor Reed proceeds to "The Pathological Studies of Melancholy," the depiction by Webster, Fletcher, Massinger, and Dekker of the behavior of madmen, real and feigned. Here Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* begins to be cited as an authority, *cum grano salis*, on eccentric and lunatic behavior. Chapter 5, "The Theatricality of Near Madness," examines eccentrics, chiefly humour characters, in the plays of Marston, Jonson, Middleton, Fletcher, and Dekker.

All this is brought to a climax in the final chapter, "John Ford, and the Refinement of Bedlam." Ford is clearly Professor Reed's favorite among the Jacobean dramatists, as the one best schooled in psychiatric theory (he even went so far as to cite Burton in a footnote to *The Lover's Melancholy*). Ford's learning unfortunately led him to the point of sacrificing dramatic effectiveness to clinical accuracy, and restricted him for the most part to a quasi-naturalistic representation of mental unbalance in a largely lyrical and static setting. Professor Reed disposes of Giovanni (*'Tis Pity She's A Whore*), who seriously challenges this generalization, by explaining that Ford's "final purpose in depicting Giovanni is to show that the amoral omnipotence of bestial instincts,



once the sensibility of the human conscience has been displaced, will also, in the end, utterly destroy the heterogeneous and progressively weakened powers of reason" (p. 155).

Such, in its main outlines, is *Bedlam on the Jacobean Stage*. What conclusions does the author draw from his study of the fact and fiction of madness in Jacobean drama? First, that the careful representation of clinical madness served the purposes of the Jacobean playwright less effectively than did an entertaining parade of horrors; that, by the same token, the practicing dramatist preferred not to produce Bethlehem Hospital itself on the stage but to make a judiciously unrealistic but sensational selection of choice lunatics. The end, as always, was entertainment. The depiction of madness was frequently justified by the assignment to the madman of a satirical function; thus Edgar does not merely rant, but anatomizes the age. Some of the playwrights were acquainted with psychiatric theory, generally through some secondary writer such as Burton; others patently violated both scholarship and simple observation for the sake of a good show. And the tragedian who seems to have studied psychiatric theory most profoundly was no better an artist for all his devotion. One can think of many modern parallels, in both fiction and drama, although Professor Reed is too kind to mention them.

The question that haunts this book is: what about Shakespeare? Here, beyond question, is the dramatist whose representations of madness need fear nothing from either the psychologist or the literary critic; whose mad folk are the most memorable in all literature (though why Professor Reed should suppose Macbeth to be one of them [pp. 79 and 157] remains obscure); who avoids all the excesses that Professor Reed by inference deplors. The explanation of the preface that "these remarkably penetrative studies of insanity [are] quite amply treated by John Charles Bucknill, Henry Somerville, and other critics" (p. vi) contrasts oddly with the generally disparaging characterization of the work of Bucknill, Somerville, and Peers on page 2. And, in any case, we should welcome Professor Reed's own interpretations of Shakespeare's characters.

Other questions remain: Can Jonson be adequately treated in a dozen pages, distributed throughout the book? Had not the influence of Machiavelli's theories (or reputation) been attested by the appearance of Machiavelli himself in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* not less than ten years before the allusion in Chettle's *Tragedy of Hoffman* (1603), mentioned by Professor Reed? Does not the following sentence, which is intended to characterize the comic action in *The Witch of Edmonton*, bespeak serious confusion: "Indeed, the comic is so much a part of the tragic that even death is accepted as a necessary flaw in the more important business of living"? (The prose occasionally sinks to pedestrianism and even downright jaywalking.)

The most regrettable fault in this book is one for which Professor Reed must hold his publishers responsible: they have omitted pages 167-174, thereby sacrificing the notes to part of Chapter 3, all the notes to Chapters 4, 5, and 6, and part of the bibliography.

MILTON CRANE

Washington, D. C.

Henry Irving. By LAURENCE IRVING. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. Pp. 734. \$10.00.

Laurence Irving's study of his grandfather, Sir Henry, is a major contribution to the history of the theater. The biographer has attempted to follow

Shaw's "admirable precept": "Let us have the truth about the artist—the stupendously selfish, self-sacrificing truth." That he has not completely succeeded is a regrettable, but not at all surprising, fact. One tends to fall under the sway of actors, particularly such a master of bravura acting as Irving undoubtedly was. But in following, at length, Irving's long and triumphal career, his grandson fails adequately to distinguish between the genuine and the false; as a consequence, *Richelieu* and *Henry VIII*, for example, are treated as two equally significant plays about "political churchmen"; further, there is no clear separation made between Irving's rendition of, say, Mathias in *The Bells* and *King Lear*. Indeed, Irving, himself, made no such distinction; he presented his Shakespearian productions in the same elaborate manner as he did contemporary melodramas. That he saw Shakespeare's plays more as spectacles than as works of art is understandable both in light of Irving's education, stage training, and predilections and in terms of nineteenth-century stage history and popular tastes. But one would expect the present-day historian to make somewhat more profound judgments than Mr. Laurence Irving does. Instead, he drags his reader through many tedious seasons of Lyceum productions only to see the same methods and the same prejudices involved. Hamlet emerges as Henry Irving; so do Benedick, Shylock and Iago. In failing to explain Irving's disasters with certain Shakespearian roles, notably Othello and Lear, his grandson shows a weakness of comprehension. He cannot bring himself to understand that the reason was Irving's imaginative shortcomings. For Henry Irving the important aspect of one of his productions was always the stagecraft, the creating of "effects."

In his account of the Lyceum Shakespearian productions, Laurence Irving gives full details. Indeed, these records and the extensive anecdotal materials (particularly those about Irving's early life and first stage experiences, his relations with his wife, and the accounts of his death and burial) are, by far, the most valuable things in this book (one does wonder, however, about the negligent treatment of the relationships between Irving and Ellen Terry and Irving and Bram Stoker). Actually, Shaw and James rather than the biographer emerge as the real critics, and Mr. Irving's book (somewhat ironically) illustrates the justice of their complaints against the actor.

The biography is sub-titled "The Actor and his World." This phrase points up the true worth of the study: it is interesting, it is detailed, it is a production in the Irving tradition.

MARVIN FELHEIM

University of Michigan

*The English Dramatic Lyric, 1603-42. A Study in Stuart Dramatic Technique.* By WILLIAM R. BOWDEN. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1951. Pp. xii + 219. \$4.00.

The thesis of Professor Bowden's study is "the essential functionalism of the Stuart dramatic lyrics" (p. 79). To prove it, the author examines some Elizabethan and Jacobean writings about song, shows the amorous implications of some songs, demonstrates how songs characterize their singers, discusses the use of songs for emotional effect upon the audience, tries to dispose of "the question of song as extraneous entertainment," reviews some of the questions involved in the treatment of songs by printers and editors, and discusses the relation of the use of songs to the preferences of the dramatists and the capacities of the troupes.

In an appendix, perhaps the most impressive part of the book, he lists songs (by author and play) and comments on the place of each in the dramas.

Although the table of contents is frightening, suggesting all manner of confusion and hairsplitting, the author manages to extricate himself admirably. Still, the great frequency of "see below," "see above," and "to be discussed subsequently" suggests that the material might have been better organized. Perhaps a division of the analytical results into character, action, thought, and diction would have answered; and it might have led the author to treat, as he does not, the unifying function of song in furthering thought and in developing patterns of imagery. Had he decided to do more with Shakespeare (another disappointment), he would perforce have had to examine thought and diction, for one of the glories of Shakespeare's plays is the use of song to embellish a theme or an image important elsewhere in the play.

But granted his plan, has Bowden proved his thesis? On the surface, the book seems to be a refutation of Louis B. Wright's view that song is likely to be extraneous in the drama of the period. But close examination reveals that the book is not wholly successful as such nor merely such. Bowden's "functional" is not everybody's "functional." Granted, many songs do characterize their singers, many do create a comic context, many establish the probability of later action. But a song with more functions than one is more functional than a song with a single justification, and a song wholly successful in one way is better than a song partly successful in many. I think, in other words, that we are here dealing with differences in standards of functionalism, and Wright and Bowden may not be so far apart as Bowden believes.

Moreover, some inconsistencies detract from the convincingness of the conclusions. Though Bowden admits "that the period 1603-42 did not bring forth 475 good plays" (p. vii), he found "perhaps five per cent at the most" of the songs not organically related to the dramas (p. 83). To suppose that only five per cent of the plays with songs were not good plays or that the poor plays were successful in their use of song while failing artistically on other scores would seem to lead to overstatement. Bowden cautions us against the twentieth-century misconception that an idyllic love scene normally follows a serenade (p. 19), but some expectation of this sort must have been present in the seventeenth-century audience, for there is no reversal, comic or otherwise, unless there are romantic expectations (pp. 19-20). In Chapter VI, "The Question of Song as Extraneous Entertainment," the author tells us that tastes have changed and asks us to consider "the forces, literary, historical, and social, behind" the use of song (p. 85), but these forces do not make a good play good nor a bad play bad. General statements about a corpus of artistic works are difficult: at best they can describe conventions and then have an exegetical value; when they are evaluative, they seldom avoid the danger of overlooking the particularity of a work of art.

I have no doubt that conversation with the author would clear up these and similar difficulties. His book shows thorough and accurate scholarship and often delights with its soundness of human comprehension. One conclusion, for example, is inevitable: that difference in the use of song among successful dramatists "seems to be purely a reflection of the tastes of the playwrights themselves, not a response to current demands of the public" (p. 116). He understands the operation of the subconsciousness in artistic receptivity (cf. pp. 41f.). He can formulate principles succinctly: "Talent is less likely to make mistakes than genius" (p. 44). But best of all is his analysis and evaluation of many of the songs. His analysis (p. 47) of Pietro's song in *The Malcontent* demonstrates beautifully the artistic use of song in establishing probability. His evaluation of

La-Writ's singing in *The Little French Lawyer*, based upon an examination of its comic implications, is an example of the best in criticism (pp. 39f.). And he has appropriately named and described for all time the Fletcher effect (pp. 59 ff.): "the creation, with absolute economy [through the use of song], of a mood the sole end of which is to furnish theatrical sensation by being shattered with a contrasting mood."

ALBERT HOWARD CARTER

*University of Arkansas*

*Elizabethan Poetry. A Study in Conventions, Meaning and Expression.* By HALLETT SMITH. Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. xii + 355. \$5.00.

The title of Professor Hallett Smith's book is at once grand, simple and novel. There have been excellent studies of pastoral, mythology, metre, imagery and other special aspects of Elizabethan poetry, but for a general survey one tends to be driven to histories of literature or prosody. This study should therefore be the more welcome as a compact and readable account of the main kinds of poetry and their development.

However, Mr. Smith's aim is larger, for he states his purpose as being "to study the nature of the creative process in the last quarter of the sixteenth century in England." Perhaps this suggests the main difficulties that may have faced the author—on the one hand that of arranging and finding a limit to the material, on the other, that of striking a balance between a descriptive text-book and an original study. The first of these difficulties has been solved by deliberately neglecting philosophical, historical and religious verse and by arranging chapters in a scheme to correspond roughly with "the career of some hypothetical archetype of the Elizabethan poet." The discussion moves in an ascending progression from pastoral via Ovidian poetry, the sonnet, satire, and verse for music, to heroic poetry—which is not far removed from an outline of Spenser's career. This solution seems successful, and one feels that the book has gained much in clarity and strength from the discussion by genre rather than say by poet or chronology, though one can still wish there had been a chapter on religious and psycho-philosophical verse.

The second difficulty may have proved more obstinate. Certain chapters are inevitably dominated by outstanding poems or groups of poems, as the chapter on pastoral is concerned almost entirely with *England's Helicon* (1600) and Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, while others, such as that on satire, deal with lesser known material which affords no focus in a famous poem. Chapters like the first, where Mr. Smith is concerned to put forward a conception of pastoral, the central meaning of which is for him "the rejection of the aspiring mind," and to analyze Spenser's poem in these terms, seeing it as "organized as pastoral," and the second, where he places *The Rape of Lucrece* in the "complaint" genre, part of the vogue established by Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* (1592), have the quality of revelations of meanings and conventions in poems seen from the inside. Chapters like those on satire and on poetry for music attempt rather to show from the outside a coherent pattern of development of the type.

In consequence the individual chapters tend to stand apart as separate entities. The arguments in each spring from or are orientated towards a special concept, as that the sonnet, reaching its climax in Shakespeare, moves from the Petrarchan paradoxes of situation and idea to "the development of metaphor,

under the compulsion of a restricted form." So satire is seen as produced by the economic and social background which provided its driving force, Ovidian poetry in terms of a literary convention, and the discussion of poetry for music is directed toward showing how

The poet, listening to the quantitative commentary of music on his verses . . . learned to exploit the quantitative effects inherent in English without the application of a foreign and inhospitable set of rules.

The approach in each case is fresh, often stimulating, and there are many acute analyses of individual poems, but one wonders whether the result is quite what the author intended, whether this book will not become a handy work of reference for the student looking for short perceptive critical essays on the poems of Spenser, Sidney, Marlowe and Shakespeare, or for a brief survey of satirical verse, rather than a book of criticism to be read in its entirety. In short, *Elizabethan Poetry* does to some extent fall between a systematic survey and a critical study, yet gives in various chapters excellent samples of both.

Perhaps the strength of the book lies in Mr. Smith's constant ability to feel back into and bring alive for his reader conventions and ideals which have ceased to operate. These are perhaps only on the fringe of "the creative process," but the nature of this has eluded all critics, and, for that matter, most poets too.

R. A. FOAKES

*The Shakespeare Institute*

*The Secret Self.* By THEODOR REIK. New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1952. Pp. [vi] + 329. \$3.50.

Reik, a psychoanalyst of extraordinary sensitivity, here presents studies of certain works by Anatole France, Goethe, Hauptmann, Heine, Ibsen, Schnitzler, and Shakespeare. He displays neither the dogmatism nor the condescension toward artists and their products which is so common in psychoanalytic studies of literature, and which mars even the perceptive work of Freud. Furthermore, he is fully aware of the limits of the psychoanalytic method and of its relation to the study of literature. He does not use it to evaluate works, nor does he feel that generations of readers have misunderstood the world's great books because of their failure to use the analytic approach. He modestly suggests that analysis can be useful in supplying information about the origin of a work of art, but avoids the reductive fallacy which holds that a fully developed product contains only what was in its origin. Thus, although he subscribes to Freud's and Ernest Jones's theory of *Hamlet*, he chastizes Laurence Olivier for basing his film upon it. Psychoanalysts, he maintains, can sometimes give clues to the background of a book, but their findings do not necessarily explain the work itself, any more than a study of Greene's *Pandosto* explains *The Winter's Tale*. The study of sources is valuable to the extent that it sheds light on Shakespeare's discrimination and enables us to see what Shakespeare himself has added—in short, what is Shakespearian about his works. Exactly so, the psychoanalyst's attempt to study the creative processes is valuable, though it does not necessarily tell us what the play in its finished form is about.

Reik's volume includes essays on *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*, but his undogmatic approach prohibits one from stating his "thesis," for, unlike most psychoanalysts who have published literary studies, he has no pet complex which he wishes to force on all

authors, no favorite theme which he wishes to find in all books. Perhaps the most interesting essay is that dealing with the protagonists of *The Merchant of Venice*. Reik feels that Shylock, in his vindictiveness, probably reflects Shakespeare's unconscious picture of Yahweh, the jealous and merciless Hebrew God. And what of Antonio? Why is he melancholy? No interpretation which is dramatically justifiable has, I think, ever been given. Most commentators feel that Antonio's melancholy "sets the mood of the play," but they forget that the play is a comedy, not a tale of woe. Reik's explanation seems true, though dramatically irrelevant. He finds behind Antonio's melancholy and willingness to suffer for others, behind his love for his fellows, the figure of Christ. And it is precisely here that we can see the nature of Reik's contributions. He does not ask us in a supercilious tone if we are not reminded of Christ when Antonio confronts us. He does not claim that Antonio represents Christ, or is the Christ-figure of much modern criticism. He merely suggests that, in his picture of a conflict between a merciless Jew and a loving Christian, Shakespeare was unconsciously influenced by the Biblical stories of his youth. Antonio is not Christ, and Shylock is not the heroic God of his tribe. But are not the portraits of the characters related to these two deities? Is the source of Shakespeare's Jew merely to be found in an Italian *novella*? Scholarship which seeks to find the origin of a play by Shakespeare in the book of one of his contemporaries can be as narrow as dogmatic psychoanalytic research. Reik does not claim that he has found the origin of the characters; he claims only that he has found one of the origins.

He is equally modest in his essay (which this reader found unconvincing) on *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Using the analytical approach, he gives detailed reasons for believing that the play embodies some of Shakespeare's childhood experiences and for accepting John Dennis' statement that it was written at Queen Elizabeth's request. Reik's discussions of Desdemona, Portia, and Hamlet are equally provocative and more significant. He may be wrong in one or all of his essays, but his attitude is right, and his love of literature, his knowledge of critical commentaries on art and psychology, and his insightful mind are rare equipment for the study of Shakespeare.

SYLVAN BARNET

Harvard University

*The University of Texas Studies in English*, Vol. XXX. Pp. 257. Univ. of Texas Press, 1951.

Robert Adger Law, in a brief but interesting article "On Certain Proper Names in Shakespeare," shows that Shakespeare drew upon Plutarch as a reservoir of classical names for non-historical characters. Of the nineteen names in *Timon of Athens*, eighteen are in Plutarch, though only four are historical and the rest are mainly Roman names such as Flavius. The only name not in Plutarch, Phrynia (IV. iii) or Phrinica (V. i), resembles Phrynicus in the life of Alcibiades, but I suggest that Shakespeare also remembered Phryne the famous courtesan mentioned by Pliny. Law points out that Shakespeare could have found in Plutarch nine names for characters in *Titus Andronicus*, six in *The Winter's Tale*, four in *Measure for Measure*, and Lysander and Demetrius in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and that he may have depended on Plutarch in his references to Roman history in *2 Henry VI*. On the names in *As You Like It* which recall Ariosto and the English Charlemagne romances (rather than the *Chanson de Roland*, which was not printed until 1837), Law has been anticipated by C. Elliot Browne in *The Athenæum* (July 29, 1876) and by Ernst Erler in *Die Namengebung bei Shakespeare* (Heidelberg, 1913).



Shakespeare's splendid enigma, *The Phoenix and Turtle*, is one of the poems discussed by Thomas P. Harrison in "*Love's Martyr*," by Robert Chester: A New Interpretation." Carleton Brown gave good reasons for explaining Chester's poem as written to honor the marriage of Sir John Salusbury to Ursula Stanley, a natural daughter of the fourth Earl of Derby. Harrison accepts Salusbury as the Turtle but argues that Queen Elizabeth is the Phoenix, and that "the poem voices at once gratification for her favor and a plea that this favor may not again be blighted with suspicion." It is true that the volume may well have been published to celebrate Salusbury's knighting by the Queen in June of 1601. But it is hard to believe that Elizabeth can be the Phoenix in view of the emphasis on the birth of a child, "another Creature . . . That shall possess both our authority." When Harrison says that in the lines of the Pelican "the funereal theme, as in Shakespeare, is unrelieved by promise of offspring," he overlooks the Pelican's prophecy of "a more perfect creature," a child who will inherit the best qualities of Phoenix and Turtle. He has also missed the accounts of episodes in Salusbury's life given by J. E. Neale in "Three Elizabethan Elections," *English Historical Review*, XLVI (1937), and in *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (1950), and by A. H. Dodd in "North Wales in the Essex Revolt of 1601," *English Historical Review*, LIX (1944). Although Harrison tries to prove that Salusbury may have been a Catholic like his brother Thomas, who was executed with Babington, Dodd points out that John Salusbury "spent the rest of his days living down this taint of treason by an ostentatious loyalty to church and state." Shakespeare's Phoenix and Turtle are in any case birds of a very different feather from Chester's, since Shakespeare's left no posterity, while Sir John and Lady Salusbury had at least ten children before 1601.

Joyce's use of Shakespeare is illustrated by William Peery, "Shakhsibeard at Finnegan's Wake." Peery observes that Earwicker "has a great deal of Hamlet in him," the "prince of dinmurk," as well as of "Fall stuff," while Shaun and Shem suggest Brutus and Cassius, Macbeth and Coriolanus. I find another possible echo of "McAdoo about nothing" on the first page of *Finnegans Wake*, where "since devlinsfirst loved livvy" goes to the same tune as Shakespeare's "Since summer first was leavy."

MARK ECCLES

University of Wisconsin

*Shakespearean Studies and Other Essays*. By DR. MAX HUHNER, With an Introduction by GEORGE S. HELLMAN. New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1952. Pp. xii + 115. \$3.00.

Dr. Max Huhner (ob. 1947) was an eminent urologist. The "Huhner Test" is a standard medical test for sterility. By vocation a surgeon, his avocation was Shakespeare, and by his writings he proved his fertility as a Shakespearean student. Like his surviving older brother, Leon Huhner, the distinguished lawyer and poet, he was an active member of the Shakespeare Association. Whether or not we agree with the Huhner Test as applied to Shakespeare, these studies show him familiarly at home in the whole body of Shakespeare's plays. Mr. Hellman's introduction is a critical but sympathetic survey, and the little book is a garland of friendship. Of the eight essays several had previously appeared in *Poet Lore* and *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin*.

The three brief essays, "Polonius' Advice to Hamlet," "Hamlet in Modern Dress," and "A New Aspect of Shamming," are in the nature of foot-notes to his book, *Shakespeare's Hamlet* (reviewed in *SQ*, II (1951), 139). Huhner belongs



to the school of critics who minimize or ignore Shakespeare's dependence on the *Ur-Hamlet* and his discussion of Hamlet's feigned insanity is threshing over empty straw, outdated by historical scholarship, which he might have found summarized in Parrott and Craig's scholarly edition of the second Quarto.

The most detailed and important of the studies is that on *The Merchant of Venice* (pp. 71-91), not an approach to the play as Drama, but an examination of the portrayal of Shylock and a mordant critique of his Christian enemies, Bassanio, Antonio and Portia, in which Portia comes off worst. To fortify his indictment of Portia the Doctor falls into the fallacy so effectually punctured by Stoll, the assumption that the key to Shakespeare's characters is in their pre-dramatic existence. "Portia's immorality possibly came to her by heredity" (p. 85)! There is the same assumption of pre-dramatic existence in his statement that Ophelia had been seduced by Hamlet before the opening of the play, already suggested by Madariaga (*On Hamlet*, reviewed in *S.A.B.*, XXIV (1949), 75-78). One is tempted to ask the doctor, an expert in this field, "How could *Shakespeare's* Hamlet, the only Hamlet you recognize, have been guilty of seduction before he was conceived by Shakespeare?"

Dr. Huhner in his somewhat acrid study of *Merchant* might have taken note of Irving's portrayal of Shylock as a tragic hero rather than as a comic villain, and of St. John Ervine's *The Lady of Belmont*, a more sympathetic treatment of Shylock, and a more savage satire on Bassanio than anything in his own essay. There is no doubt that for Shakespeare's audience Shylock was a comic villain, and no one shed tears for him in the Globe theater. But Shakespeare not only humanized him but balanced his unattractive characteristics, his vindictiveness, his exclusiveness, his money-mindedness, with admirable qualities, his racial loyalty, his pride in his ancient Hebraic heritage, his faithfulness to the memory of his wife, his distress at his daughter's betrayal of her father, his devotion to his religion and the ancient rites of the synagogue; and Shakespeare transcended the limitations of his age and the prejudices of his audience by emphasizing the traits that Hebrew and Christian share, their inheritance of our common human nature, and their birthright membership, for better or for worse, in the Human Race.

If the Elizabethans brutalized Shylock, the Victorians sentimentalized him. The twentieth century has interpreted the *Merchant* both as pro- and as anti-Semitic. In Israeli when *The Merchant of Venice* is played, not only Shylock but Antonio speaks Hebrew, and Shakespeare's lines remind the audience of their ancient prestige as a nation and their escape from persecution by Christians. Dr. Huhner's comments on Jessica are fictionalized in the remarkable Yiddish novel, *Shylock and his Daughter*, dramatized and staged for the Yiddish Art Theater by Maurice Schwartz. These Shakespearian studies are significant because they so clearly run in the earlier and now abandoned channel of nineteenth-century criticism, before the invention of myth and symbol, the patter of patterns, the substitution of metamystic intuition for a critical appraisal of Shakespeare's art as dramatist, and the exclusion of plot and character in the discussion of his imagery. But while in these respects the studies under review are dated, there is positive survival value in their insistence on bringing to the interpretation of single scenes and characters the perspective gained by a survey of his whole work. Dr. Huhner is a surgeon and is interested in dissecting his corpus. His method is deductive, not inductive, and while oriented by his prepossessions, he deserves credit for the frankness with which he announces his technique. "In this discussion," he informs us in the preface to his *Hamlet*, "he will start out by saying what his idea of Hamlet is. He will state the proposition

to be proved, and will follow it with such extracts from the play as will tend to prove the theorem."

This is the technique followed in his *Merchant* study. The frank disavowal of objectivity, while it does not disarm criticism, tempers it when applied to so devoted and well-informed a student of Shakespeare as the late Dr. Max Huhner.

J. DUNCAN SPAETH

*Princeton University, Emeritus*

*The Appreciation of Shakespeare.* Edited by BERNARD M. WAGNER. Washington: Georgetown University, 1949. Pp. [xi] + 521. \$5.

In one volume Wagner has brought together from three centuries a large body of significant English critical writings on Shakespeare. The selections represented, in several instances complete books, are given not in brief excerpts but in their entirety. Included are important relevant critical discourses—Bridges on the audience, Abercrombie on poetic drama, Meredith on comedy, Carlyle on Dante and Shakespeare, Hazlitt on Shakespeare and Milton, and Charles William's play *A Myth of Shakespeare* (included as "indirect criticism"). Arranged under two main headings, "The Man and Artist" and "Studies in Ten Plays," the critical essays in this volume are a resource not otherwise easily available, collectively and often singly. Wagner has done a service for students and scholars.

"The extreme high cost of book production today has dictated the utmost economy in making this one. This will explain and, it is hoped, compensate for the chagrin the reader will feel at the irregularities in the printing: the eccentricity of alignment and the uneven inking." The disadvantages of the photo-offset method of reproducing the texts, the editor himself has thus fairly described and justified. The texts are legible and the editor is to be thanked for successfully carrying through a valuable project within the limits of available resources.

CLIFFORD P. LYONS

*University of North Carolina*

*Achter het Mombakkes.* By P. H. VAN MOERKERKEN. Amsterdam: G. A. Van Oorschot, 1950. Pp. [x] + 154.

The personage to be revealed "Behind the Mask" (of Shakespeare) is Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

An English-speaking reader will be hard put to it to see how this book can be of much value to Dutch readers interested in Shakespeare and his period. If it is intended to offer the results of the writer's research, it hardly merits a whole book. His strongest points (duly acknowledged and credited) are the work of others, especially Looney, Abel Lefranc and B. M. Ward. His own discoveries could better have been presented in a short article or in a few notes contributed to some learned journal. If it was intended as a popularization, an introduction for Dutch readers to one fringe of Shakespearian scholarship—albeit a lunatic fringe in the view of most readers of the *Shakespeare Quarterly*—it lets them down badly. The bulk of English, American, and German Shakespearian scholarship during the twentieth century appears to be unknown to him. He cites Malone as authority (p. 88) that the 1602 quarto of the *Merry*

*Wives* is a rough draft! From this—to telescope the steps of his argument—he intimates that the F1 version of the song of the “fairies” as they pinch Falstaff was probably written by the Earl of Oxford. Thus he overlooks the great body of investigation which has long perceived that the relationship of “good” and “bad” Shakespearian texts is something more complex than the relation between first draft and final version and must be explained by some other process, memorial reconstruction now seeming the most likely. The omission of any references to Shakespearian studies published after 1940, apart from Charlton Osborn’s pamphlet *The Renaissance Man of England* (New York, 1947), is understandable and forgivable in a Dutch subject who doubtless had to live under the dark cloud of the German occupation. However, the citation of virtually no studies published during the 1930’s is harder to understand or pardon. Dr. Van Moerkerken is fond of quoting the “Stratfordians” in their teeth, a quite legitimate argumentative device, but the Stratfordians he generally chooses are Sidney Lee (1925 ed. of the *Life of Shakespeare*) and Sir Edmund Chambers (*Elizabethan Stage*, 1923; *William Shakespeare*, 1930). The 30’s were years of great activity in Shakespeare research and criticism; and the present reviewer would have had more confidence that Dr. Van Moerkerken was striving to ground his arguments as firmly as possible, if some Stratfordian studies of that period had been held up for refutation. Just as a believer in Baconian cyphers needs to take into account what bibliographical investigations have found about the practices of Elizabethan printing houses, so an Oxfordian needs to take into account the investigations into the imagery of the plays attributed to Shakespeare. Van Moerkerken shows no awareness of the studies initiated by Caroline Spurgeon and continued by so many of her intellectual progeny.

What appears to be a chief contribution by Dr. Van Moerkerken himself is the introduction of parallels or correspondences between portions of Oxford’s life or writings and portions of the works attributed to Shakespeare. Here are some characteristic examples. A sonnet attributed to Oxford in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowers* (publ. 1573) contains a reference to Cressida and Troilus. Many years later a play of *Troilus and Cressida* (publ. 1609) was attributed to Shakespeare (pp. 54-56). Oxford’s London residence, Vere House was situated near London Stone. In *Henry VI* Jack Cade delivers a speech while sitting on London Stone (pp. 50-51). By such correspondence the reader, presumably, is ineluctably drawn to the conclusion that Shakespeare and Oxford are the same.

Because he brings up the point twice in his book (pp. 89-91 and 138-139), I presume that Dr. Van Moerkerken takes special satisfaction in his discovery of an “I am that I am” parallel. The phrase appears in the angry postscript to a letter that Oxford wrote to Burghley 30 October 1584 and appears also in “Shakespeare’s” sonnet 121 (publ. 1609). “To readers who are not completely besotted by tradition and theories, the comparison of Oxford’s letter with the Sonnet must open their eyes afresh. Still in the same mood,” Van Moerkerken concludes, “his hand shaking with emotion, Edward de Vere relieved his fury and resentment in the fourteen lines” (p. 91). In attributing so much significance to this coincidental use of a biblical phrase, he surely does less than justice to almost any Elizabethan’s knowledge of the Old Testament. If Van Moerkerken considers such evidence as creating a strong presumption of common authorship, one can only wonder what he would regard as proof.

Reserved for the concluding “punch” of Van Moerkerken’s argument is a summary of Charles Wisner Barrell’s article “Identifying Shakespeare,” *Scientific American*, CLXII (Jan. and May 1940), 5-8, 43-45, 264, 269. By subjecting the Ashbourne portrait of Shakespeare to photography, including X-ray, and

infra-red ray, Barrell found evidence of over painting, especially of the ruff and the forehead, and concluded that the original portrait was the one known to have been made of the Earl of Oxford by Cornelius Ketel, the Dutch portrait painter who lived in England from 1573 to 1581, i.e. when Oxford would have been between 23 and 31 years of age. The man pictured in the Ashbourne portrait appears much older than was Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, during Ketel's residence in England. I would say that the portrait is of a man in his early to middle forties. Barrell's reproductions of the Portland and the St. Albans portraits of Oxford show him at ages 25 and c.36 respectively, the latter depicting a much younger-looking man than in the Ashbourne portrait. Whoever painted the original portrait, it is unlikely, almost impossible, that the subject was the Earl of Oxford. It more likely represents some other member of the nobility or gentry. A later artist may have painted over the portrait, perhaps to make it accord with popular conceptions of Shakespeare's likeness. But that is no proof that an obscure Elizabethan noble or squire, much less the Earl of Oxford, was really Shakespeare.

HARRY R. HOPPE

Michigan State College

*A Shakespeare Companion 1550-1950.* By F. E. HALLIDAY. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1952. Pp. [xvi] + [744], 33 plates. \$8.50.

The compilation of a Shakespeare handbook is not lightly to be undertaken. One must be thoroughly conversant with the literature of a subject whose ramifications are almost endless. A confident Elizabethan might take all knowledge to be his province, but at the middle point of the twentieth century it is a bold Shakesperian who would assert primacy in more than a small segment of his particular field. Setting out to discover for himself "what, after all, matters most about Shakespeare, his poetry," Mr. F. E. Halliday began making notes systematically and after two years, during which "the labour was at times mole-like" and the prospective book "a monster," he found himself ready to supply copy to the printer for a volume of some eight hundred pages.

It is a good and a useful book. The thirty-three pages of illustrations give examples of Elizabethan documents, Shakespearian portraits, Shakespeare's patrons and literary contemporaries, theatrical architecture, and editors of Shakespeare. One of the most valuable sections of the book is the Bibliography, which runs to more than twenty pages. It is, naturally, selective, but it lists most of the important books and a few important articles that have appeared in *Shakespeare Survey*. It is surprising to find Langbaine's *Momus Triumphans* (1688) instead of his *Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691). Noticeable by their absence are Sir Walter Greg's *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration* (1939); *Shakespeare's England* (1916), edited by C. T. Onions and others; William Jaggard's *Shakespeare Bibliography* (1911); Sir Edmund Chambers' *Sources for a Biography of Shakespeare* (1947); H. R. Hoppe's *Bad Quarto of Romeo and Juliet* (1948); G. I. Duthie's *Elizabethan Shorthand and the First Quarto of King Lear* (1949); E. E. Stoll's *Othello: An Historical and Comparative Study* (1915) and *Hamlet: An Historical and Comparative Study* (1919); and D. L. Patrick's *Textual History of Richard III* (1936), to name some of the more important books that have been overlooked.

This citation of omitted titles illustrates the magnitude of the compiler's

task and its complexity. To give another illustration, one might name some of the scholars that have made important contributions but are not accorded a main entry. Surely the editorial or critical work of the following entitles them to a place in the *Companion* when it is revised for a second edition: Hyder E. Rollins, M. A. Shaaber, S. B. Hemingway (these three, but not in collaboration, have edited New Variorum volumes of *The Sonnets*, *The Poems*, *1 Henry IV*, and *2 Henry IV*), Thomas Marc Parrott, J. T. Murray, Richard Grant White, Edwin E. Willoughby, J. C. Adams, Willard Farnham, Mark Van Doren, Madeleine Doran, William J. Neidig, and Wolfgang Clemen. Another name that should have been included is that of Henry E. Huntington, founder of the library in San Marino, California, that bears his name. In the ownership of first quartos of Shakespeare it is on a par with the Folger Shakespeare Library and the British Museum, and it has almost as many early English books (1475-1640), not to mention its incunabula and the richness of many of its other collections.

There are other omissions. No mention is made, for example, of the Shakespeare Association of America (organized in 1925 and reorganized in 1949) or of its publications: *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin* (24 vols.) and *Shakespeare Quarterly* (now in its fourth volume). It might have been helpful to include information, also, about the society with the longest continuous existence, the Shakspeare Society of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, which in April 1952 completed its first century of activity. Organized even earlier was the Shakespeare Club of Stratford-upon-Avon, which came into existence in 1824; but its life was dormant, if not extinct, from 1866 to 1874, when it was refounded. It may surprise many to learn of a Shakespearean Society of Boston, Massachusetts, that flourished in 1794 and 1795 and of the Sheffield (England) Shakespeare Club, founded in 1819—these do not survive to dispute primacy with Philadelphia and Stratford.

These paragraphs bear witness to the truth of Mr. Halliday's candid avowal (p. xi) that the book makes no attempt to be complete.

It may be added that it does not always attain perfection in accuracy. In the discussion of Portraits, for example (p. 503), there is no reference to the Kneller, which those who have seen it regard as the most satisfactory to look at; yet the paragraph about Sir Godfrey Kneller (p. 344) states categorically that "Kneller painted a copy of the Chandos portrait of Shakespeare and presented it to Dryden, who acknowledges it in his *Fourteenth Epistle* (1694)." Now the actual title of Dryden's poem is "To Sir Godfrey Kneller . . .," and it was first published in *The Annual Miscellany: for The Year 1694*. But there is nothing in the poem to indicate what original Kneller copied. All we can be sure of is that in Dryden's heyday men like Sir Henry Herbert still flourished who had known Shakespeare or whose fathers had known him, so that the authentication of a portrait would have been an easy matter. Writers on Shakespeare portraiture repeat the story that Richard Burbage painted a portrait of Shakespeare that passed to Joseph Taylor, the actor, and at his death to Sir William Davenant; Thomas Betterton is stated to have acquired it next, at whose death it was bought by Mrs. Barry, from whom it went by sale to Keck and so ultimately to the Duke of Chandos. The tradition is undocumented before Mrs. Barry's purchase, and the suggestion that Kneller copied the Chandos portrait seems to have originated with Malone. It would not be worth while to question Mr. Halliday's account but for the fact that his is only one of many to this same effect. I have no wish to discredit the

Chandos portrait; few things would give me greater pleasure than to *know* that it—or, indeed, any other likeness—was indisputably painted from the life and had a documented chain of ownership from that date to the present.

The paragraph about the Reverend John Ward (pp. 687-688) leaves the impression that his notebooks are yet in the library of the Medical Society of London; as a matter of fact, they were sold from thence many years ago and acquired by H. C. Folger.

The data given about the early editions of Shakespeare are generally trustworthy. There is no mention, however, of the unique fragment of the first quarto of *1 Henry IV* now in the Folger Library (see. p. 273) or of the second issue of the quarto of *2 Henry IV* containing the scene that had been omitted in the first printing (p. 274). One of the paragraphs on *The Passionate Pilgrim* (p. 465) contains the statement that "there may have been a second edition"; this ignores the unique Folger fragment of the first edition and the facsimile which J. Q. Adams published in 1939. On page 466, Mr. Halliday expresses uncertainty about the existence of two issues of the third edition of the book dated 1612, but the Bodleian copy contains both the original titlepage bearing Shakespeare's name and the cancel, which omits it in deference to the protests of Shakespeare and Heywood; the story is told at length in Rollins' facsimile edition of the 1612 volume.

We are told (p. 464) that an Elizabethan playwright's foul sheets might be licensed by the Revels Office and then used as the official prompt book by a company of players, but this is questionable, for no such manuscript is extant. Neither the Revels Office nor the prompter would have been satisfied with anything less than a fair copy; possibly Mr. Halliday has been led astray by the manuscript of Massinger's *Believe as You List*, which is an autograph redaction of a play censured by the Revels Office. Incidentally, there is no entry for author's plot, though J. Q. Adams printed one in *The Library* (4th ser., XXVI, 17-27).

It must be extraordinarily difficult to keep a work the size of this self-consistent, and Mr. Halliday has not been uniformly successful. The entry on H. H. Furness, for example, mentions his son, H. H. Furness, Jr., who continued to edit and publish volumes of the *New Variorum*, and also the fact that since the latter's death the edition is being continued by the Modern Language Association of America with J. Q. Adams as the first general editor (at his death in 1946, H. E. Rollins succeeded him). On turning to page 675, however, one finds under *New Variorum* a reference only to the volumes published by the senior Furness. Another entry illustrates a difficulty of a different sort: at the end of the account of William and Isaac Jaggard (pp. 320, 321) is a cross-reference to *FRONTISPIECE*, but there is no main entry on page 221, where one might be expected.

With one typographical error, a simple transposition of 1579 to 1597 as the date of Spenser's *Shepherds Calendar* (p. 617), and one failure to read every item of a voluminous literature, this listing will close: the entry under Salathiel Pavy contains the usual information, Mr. Halliday having failed to read (or to recall) G. E. Bentley's brilliant communication on this subject in *T.L.S.* (30 May 1942, p. 276).

The presence of the score of errors I have mentioned does not make this an unreliable book. On the contrary, it has no close rival, and a copy should be in every library.

J.G.M.



*Shakespeare* (N.B.L. List, Second Series). Ed. by KATHERINE J. WORTH. Cambridge University Press for the National Book League, [1952]. Pp. 31. 35 cents.

This list of editions and books about Shakespeare deserves wide circulation. I know nothing so helpful for individuals and libraries wanting guidance in the building of a small, sound reference library for the study and enjoyment of Shakespeare. Among the three hundred titles are perhaps as many as half-a-dozen that seem to me to fall below the level of the rest. Two or three emendations are needed, and I should like to see a number of other titles added in the next edition. On page 4, Annotated Editions, it should be noted that since the death of H. H. Furness, Jr., the New Variorum Edition is being continued by the Modern Language Association of America, and another volume, *Troilus and Cressida*, has come from press this year. Though collotype facsimiles of the Quartos are important, the following are not listed (p. 6): *Hamlet* [1] and *Hamlet* [2] (the Henry E. Huntington Library, 1931 and 1938); *Titus Andronicus* (The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1936, ed. J. Q. Adams); *Pericles* (Oxford University Press, 1905, ed. Sidney Lee); and *Richard II*, 1598 (Bernard Quaritch, 1916, ed. A. W. Pollard). In the Note on page 6, shouldn't the publisher of Hardin Craig's edition be Scott, Foresman?

The section on editions of the Poems omits C. F. T. Brooke's *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (Oxford University Press, 1936) and three facsimiles: Sidney Lee's *Passionate Pilgrim* (Oxford University Press, 1905); and J. Q. Adams' *Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599, and H. E. Rollins' *Passionate Pilgrim*, 1612 (Folger Shakespeare Library, 1939, 1940).

In the entry relating to bibliographies of current literature, etc. (p. 7), it should be noted that the final volume of the *Shakespeare Association Bulletin* was XXIV (1949) and that *Shakespeare Quarterly*, its successor, has the annual bibliography in the April issue. There should be a reference to the Shakespeare section in the Renaissance Bibliography in the April issues of *Studies in Philology* (University of North Carolina) and to the Shakespeare section of the American Bibliography in *PMLA* (Modern Language Association of America). It would seem desirable, in this same section, to add H. L. Ford's *Shakespeare, 1700-1740* (Oxford University Press, 1935), and Alexander Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon* (W. de Gruyter, 1902).

Three titles deserving inclusion on pages 9-11 are G. I. Duthie's *The 'Bad' Quarto of Hamlet* (Cambridge University Press, 1941), H. R. Hoppe's *The Bad Quarto of Romeo and Juliet* (Cornell University Press, 1948), and D. L. Patrick's *The Textual History of Richard III* (Stanford University Press, 1936). E. I. Fripp's *Shakespeare, Man and Artist* (Oxford University Press, 1938) might well be added on page 12; and I would suggest the insertion on page 21 of H. N. Paul's *The Royal Play of Macbeth* (Macmillan, 1950), and on page 28 of Hazelton Spencer's *Shakespeare Improv'd* (Harvard University Press, 1927).

J.G.M.

*Shakespeare's Histories at Stratford, 1951*. By J. DOVER WILSON and T. C. WORSLEY. London: Max Reinhardt, 1952. Pp. x + 96. \$4.50.

To those who saw *Richard II*, the two parts of *Henry IV*, and *Henry V* at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in 1951, this small volume will recall a very happy experience. Other readers may well turn to it, however, with pleasure and profit.

A brief introduction by the Director of the Memorial Theatre, Mr. Anthony



Quayle, is followed by an essay, "Shakespeare and English History as the Elizabethans Understood it," by Professor J. Dover Wilson, and this in turn by a detailed description of the plays in performance by the dramatic critic of *The New Statesman*, Mr. T. C. Worsley. There are many quotations from reviews, as well, and the book is illustrated with thirty-two fullpage photographs of actual scenes.

Neither Professor Wilson nor Mr. Worsley is convinced that the plays were written as a tetralogy. Yet few spectators could have failed to mark the greater depth and, indeed, intelligibility which they possessed when they were seen thus, in swift succession, with the same actors reappearing as Prince Hal and King Henry V, as Bolingbroke and Henry IV, as the execrable Northumberland, or the amiable, slow-witted Bardolph. Meaning was brought out, distortion avoided. *Richard II* was not, what it has sometimes been on the stage, "a vehicle for a great star actor playing Richard," nor was Hal completely overshadowed by Hotspur. Bolingbroke came into his own as a highly finished and impressive portrait. And, for a not unimportant detail, "the discovery of the youthfulness of the victor of Agincourt took one's breath away; and yet it was perfectly right according to both history and Shakespeare."

Many of the points in Dover Wilson's essay are familiar, but they are admirably presented. Wisely, he abstains from treating the plays as if they were historical treatises. When all is said, such political ideas as run through them—as that of order and disorder, for instance—are relatively simple and were widely shared in the dramatist's own time. Mr. Wilson calls *Richard II* "Shakespeare's great political passion play," depicting as it does "the agony and death of a sacrificial victim in the person of the Lord's anointed." *Henry IV* is, as might be expected, a "Tudor 'morality,' the consummation of a long series of sixteenth-century 'interludes of youth' or prodigal son dramas." In *Richard III*, Shakespeare's debt to Sir Thomas More is scarcely to be exaggerated. In passing to this play from *Henry VI*, "we seem to step straight from the middle ages into the modern world, the world of the intrigues, counterplots, and sudden executions that we now associate with the totalitarian state. This is because the Nazis and Stalinists have brought back to Europe the technique of Italian renaissance politics, and *Richard III* is the earliest and most faithful reflection in English drama of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century Italian tyrants," about whom More had heard a great deal and "whose most sinister characteristics he freely transferred to Richard of Gloucester."

A footnote on 3 *Henry VI* is, perhaps, even more arresting. This play, Mr. Wilson had decided, "has little to offer the modern reader or spectator." It was a judgment, however, which he was able to test, and he adds these words:

Having since seen the interesting production of Part III at the Birmingham Repertory I should now phrase this differently. It is never safe for a scholar to generalise about a play until he has witnessed a production of it!

I was fortunate enough to see the same production, and agree unreservedly.

A. C. SPRAGUE

Bryn Mawr

## Queries and Notes

### A NEW SHAKESPEARE ALLUSION

R. H. BOWERS

An amusing Shakespeare allusion is preserved in the still unpublished late seventeenth-century playlet (or farce) *The Merry Loungers* which runs to approximately 105 prose lines and is preserved uniquely in British Museum MS. Additional 6402, pp. 84-86. The play is anonymous; and there is nothing of an external character to fix a date of composition: Professor Alfred Harbage, in his invaluable *Annals of English Drama: 975-1700* (p. 263) does not attempt to date it. But the fair copy script appears unquestionably to belong to the closing decades of the seventeenth century, or, possibly, to the early eighteenth century. The play itself is a scrappy little farce, of no dramatic merit or distinction, perhaps written by a Cambridge undergraduate or don for performance on a holiday or festive occasion. The action revolves about some brisk undergraduates whose notion of sophistication is to play hooky from college chapel in order to breakfast at leisure, and later to play tennis, reserving the afternoon for cards and sipping "rack-punch" spiced with lemon juice. Urging his friends to hurry through their breakfast (in scene 1), an undergraduate named Western, described as "a very witty fellow," declaims:

by Hell it were an easy thing to pluck briht Honour from the pale-faced moon—to morrow, to morrow, & to morrow steals in a petty pace from day to day and all our yesterdays have lightd fools to their eternal homes, out—out brief candle—I am thy fathers spirit,—(wistles & dances): well, but come lets go.

This allusion would suffer by contrast to the magnificent cento of garbled lines which Mark Twain wrote for his character the Duke of Bridgewater to deliver in the twenty-first chapter of *Huckleberry Finn*; but exactly the same technique of misquotation for comic effect is evident. In fact these illustrations of literary creation by misquotation could serve as apposite footnotes to a recent article of considerable interest by Mr. M. J. C. Hodgart of Pembroke College, Cambridge, entitled "Misquotation as Re-creation," which appeared in *Essays in Criticism*, III (Jan., 1953), 28-38.

University of Florida

### POLONIUS: ANOTHER POSTSCRIPT

R. H. BOWERS

A reconsideration of Polonius has been raised by Mrs. Josephine Waters Bennett's recent article "Characterization in Polonius' Advice to Laertes" in *SQ* for January, 1953 (IV, 1-9). I certainly would not quarrel with the literary parallels from Isocrates to the advice bestowed by Polonius on Laertes (*Hamlet*, I.iii.55-88) which Mrs. Bennett uses as evidence for her main argument; but

as an *aide-mémoire* I would point out the many similar sentiments to be found in another father's sententious advice to his son: that of Peter Idley of Kent, who flourished in the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> For example, Idley told his son:

Be true in worde, werke, and dede,  
And fle doubleness in all wyse. (I.71-72)

Be not straunge of hatte, hoode, ne hure. (I.120)

With good felawshippe þou be accompanied. (I.156)

If thou shalt borde, jape with thy peere. (I.85)

[Be] meke in contenance, deboneire and mure. (I.122)

These samples are sufficient to demonstrate the native tradition of commonplace precautionary sententia. Of course, Idley's remarks were unknown to William Shakespeare since they were not printed until 1935; but the sentiments were a part of the air that every Elizabethan breathed. This note in no wise contradicts Mrs. Bennett's contention that Polonius is portrayed as a wretched fool, rather it should underscore the commonplace nature of the maxims spoken by Polonius.

Mrs. Bennett does not go into the question of why the proper name Corambis (signifying perhaps "tedious iteration") of the First Quarto was altered to Polonius (i.e. the Pole) in the authorised version of *Hamlet* beyond properly rejecting the old and unattractive theory that some practitioners of "application" might have taken Corambis to represent a thinly veiled satire on Lord Burleigh. Mrs. Bennett suggests that Shakespeare was refusing to follow a fashion of the day (affected by Ben Jonson in particular) of pinning labels on his characters in the manner of an allegory. In the absence of any substantial evidence this is as plausible a conjecture as any.

The late Sir Israel Gollancz put forth in 1916<sup>2</sup> the final draft of his theory that the proper name Polonius (from the Latin *Polonia*) was suggested to Shakespeare by the fact that a distinguished Polish writer on public affairs, Laurentius Grimaldus Goslicius, who died as Bishop of Posen in 1607, had made a name for himself as an authority on how to counsel a ruler in his magnum opus, *De Optimo Senatore Libri II*. This work was first printed in 1568 at Venice by Zilletus and was translated into English in 1598 (*STC* 12372, 12373). Now Gollancz was not content with suggesting a source for the proper name; he went on, laboriously, to argue that Shakespeare had perused the English translation of *De Optimo Senatore* and had incorporated many of its ideas and sentiments into the text of *Hamlet*. The effort of Sir Israel to establish the ancestry of the name Polonius has been dutifully recorded, inter alia, by Sir E. K. Chambers (*William Shakespeare*, I, 417-418) and by Dover Wilson in his New Cambridge edition of *Hamlet* (1936, p. 141) in a wholly non-

<sup>1</sup> The citations from Idley are taken from the text of *Instructions to his Son* edited by Dr. Charlotte D'Evelyn (New York, 1935), who showed that Idley, especially in Book I, was often following ultimately the tradition of proverbial and precautionary wisdom formulated by Albertanus of Brescia which Geoffrey Chaucer likewise followed in his *Tale of Melibeus*. The introduction of this tradition into England has been carefully studied by Professor Burke Severs; see his article in *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, ed. W. F. Bryan & G. Dempster (Chicago, 1941), pp. 560-614.

<sup>2</sup> See *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, ed. I. Gollancz (Oxford, 1916), pp. 173-177.

committal vein, which suggests that the theory has not been impressive. I have taken the pains to read the 1568 edition of *De Optimo Senatore*, and I can find nothing to substantiate Gollancz's claim about the text as a whole.

The work is a typical sixteenth-century moralistic dissertation on political science, written in straight expository prose in the third person. It draws its authority and illustration not from the contemporary Polish or European scene but from classical antiquity, from such standard and endlessly cited authorities as Seneca, Aristotle, Plato, and Cicero. It aims therefore at what Dr. Johnson called "the grandeur of generality" rather than at instruction in the specific concerns of a Renaissance "senator" or senior counsellor to royalty. Its basic theme is the inculcation of sound moral conduct: a senator should be *prudens* (fol. 52<sup>v</sup>); *iustus* (fol. 55<sup>v</sup>); *temperans* (fol. 71<sup>v</sup>); *continens* (fol. 72<sup>v</sup>): *Nihil est quod dignitatem magis senatoriam deturpet, quam flagitiosa & perdita libido*. It cites Cato as the supreme example of constantia: *Catonis constantiam quis etiam non admirabitur?*

I believe that it would be impossible to convince any serious scholar that Shakespeare was influenced by this text when he was writing *Hamlet*; but the possibility, however remote, that the proper name Polonius was suggested to Shakespeare by the reputation of the author of this treatise cannot be wholly ignored.

University of Florida

## THE SEVEN AGES OF MAN AGAIN

CECIL C. SERONSY

Jaques' seven ages of man in *As You Like It* have been the subject of much source-hunting, but no precise origin for the gloomy philosopher's speech has yet been found. Steevens and Malone long ago named Proclus as a possible model, and H. H. Furness in the New Variorum Shakespeare cites a passage from the Greek Anthology (X, 72). There is little doubt that these were among a wide variety of sources from art, literature, and life that were available to Shakespeare, who perhaps drew upon several of them in composing Jaques' speech.<sup>1</sup>

Nearly all the instances that have heretofore been cited lack one important feature of the Shakespearian passage: the consistent presentation of man in a ridiculous and pitiful condition. One work, however, Thomas Lodge's *A Margarite of America* (1596), which is usually overlooked as a source for the speech by editors of Shakespeare, offers two passages in which man's condition is so pictured. The first describes the bed on which Arsadachus slept as being adorned with an arch of precious stones "on which by degrees mans state from infancie to his olde age was plainly depicted." These pictorial representations are then "deciphered" in the song *Humanae Miseriae discursus* which follows.<sup>2</sup> The second passage comes towards the end of the

<sup>1</sup> Such available sources are treated in detail by Samuel C. Chew in "This Strange Eventful History," *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies* (Washington, 1948), pp. 157-182.

story, where the same Arsadachus groans, "True it is that *Plutarch* saith that life is a stage-play which even unto the last act hath no decorum."<sup>3</sup> The resemblance of these circumstances in Lodge's novel to the reflections of Shakespeare's Jaques have been noted previously, but no one has thus far suggested the identity of attitude in the two writers towards man's condition.<sup>4</sup> The *Humanae Miseriae discursus*, somewhat medieval in theme and style and proclaiming the vanity of all things in this world, gives a rather incomplete account of the ages of man. Without orderly chronological progression the poem jumbles together the ages and various states of man, of which there appear to be five divisions: (1) infancy, (2) youth and love, (3) sorrow attending great wealth, (4) vain pursuit of learning, and (5) hazardous character of all trades and professions. Lodge's presentation is without dramatic quality, but in every instance he describes man as pitifully weak and inadequate, one line particularly, "an infant first from nurces teat he sucketh,"<sup>5</sup> being very close to Jaques' account of the infant "mewling and puking in the nurse's arms" (II. vii. 144). In fact, the whole of this song bears out the bitter pronouncement later in the novel that "life is a stage-play which even unto the last act hath no decorum." And it is precisely life as *indecorum* at each successive stage, from infancy through helpless senility, that forms the very core of the morose Jaques' speech.

If Shakespeare took a hint from Lodge's notion of life as a stage play without decorum, it would be but another of several instances in which he stood indebted to Lodge, whose *Rosalind* was the chief source for *As You Like It* and whose *A Margarite of America* has been seen as a possible model for certain situations and ideas in *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*.<sup>6</sup> There are other circumstances in Lodge's novel upon which Shakespeare might have drawn: certain satirical features in Arsadachus' character are suggestive of Jaques, and there is a good deal of Prospero in the banished Arsinous, who, retiring to his cave in a stony island, becomes a master-magician and serves as the *deus ex machina* at the end of the story. It would seem then that Shakespeare's rather evident use of materials from both of Lodge's novels strengthens the case for the *indecorum* passages in Lodge as a source for Jaques' speech.

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## DEKKER AND FALSTAFF

CECIL C. SERONSY

One of Thomas Dekker's Plague Pamphlets, *The Wonderful Year* (1603), offers some descriptive details that are reminiscent of the famous robbery scene in Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV*. The fat innkeeper in Dekker's account is re-

<sup>2</sup> See *Menaphon* and *A Margarite of America*, ed. G. B. Harrison (Oxford, 1927), p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> The same, p. 223. In the Introduction (p. xii) Harrison mentions that these two passages in Lodge's novel seem to be echoed in "All the world's a stage."

<sup>4</sup> The first writer to observe the resemblance was C. A. Herpich in *Notes and Queries*, CV (Jan. 18, 1902), 46-47. N. Burton Paradise also mentions the passage as a possible model for Shakespeare in *Thomas Lodge, The History of an Elizabethan* (New Haven, 1931), p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> Harrison edition, p. 120.

<sup>6</sup> Paradise, p. 122.

ferred to as the "gorbely Host" and his flight from a plague-stricken customer is thus described:

Out of the house he wallowed presently, beeing followed with two or three doozen of napkins to drie up the larde, that ranne so fast downe his heeles, that all the way hee went, was more greazie than a kitchen-stuffe-wifes basket.<sup>1</sup>

Both these items appear to have been suggested by similar details occurring close together in Act II, Scene II of Shakespeare's play, where Falstaff addresses the victims of the robbery as "gorbellied" and Prince Hal tells Poins that the fat knight "lards the lean earth" in his flight.<sup>2</sup> A circumstance of additional interest is the fact that Dekker was employed in 1602, shortly before *The Wonderful Year* was published, on a revision of the play *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle*.<sup>3</sup> Although this latter play bears little resemblance to 1 Henry IV, it has a few direct references to Falstaff, and the one scene which makes the clearest allusion to Shakespeare's play is III, iv. 61-65, 102-105, where in the conversation between the King and Sir John of Wrotham mention is made of Falstaff's fatness and the robbery. I have found no previous mention of the correspondence between the two passages given above, although Dekker's admiration for Shakespeare has been shown in his imitation and adaptation of Shakespearian material.<sup>4</sup> It seems reasonable then to suppose that in 1603 Dekker, while writing *The Wonderful Year* and fresh from his revision of *Sir John Oldcastle*, had in memory the scene from Shakespeare, from whom he borrowed some narrative details and a bit of phraseology.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker*, ed. F. P. Wilson (Oxford, 1925), p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 93 and 115-116 (*Complete Works*, ed. George L. Kittredge, Boston, 1936).

<sup>3</sup> The circumstance is recorded in Henslowe's diary. For details see *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle*, ed. Percy Simpson, The Malone Society Reprints (London, 1908), Introd., p. vi, and Tucker Brooke, *The Shakespeare Apocrypha* (Oxford, 1908), Introd., pp. xxvii-xxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Emil Koepfel's *Studien über Shakespeares Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker* (Louvain, 1905) offers parallels between Shakespeare and Dekker. Mary L. Hunt, in *Thomas Dekker, A Study* (New York, 1911), names *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Hamlet* as influencing Dekker's dramatic work. In "More Shakespeare Allusions," *Modern Philology*, XIII (1916), 141, John Munro gives passages from three of Dekker's plays which he considers to be very near the language of Falstaff. The parallels offered by Munro seem to me less striking than the ones cited in this note.



## Notes and Comments

### QUEEN ELIZABETH I—QUEEN ELIZABETH II

When the April issue of *Shakespeare Quarterly* came from press with reproductions of engravings, manuscripts, and printed items relating to the coronation and reign of Shakespeare's Queen, a copy was dispatched to England for Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II. The following acknowledgment has been received:

#### BUCKINGHAM PALACE

The Private Secretary is commanded to thank Mr. James G. McManaway very much for the copy of the April issue of the *Shakespeare Quarterly* which he has sent, so kindly, for The Queen's acceptance.  
23rd June, 1953.

—o—

#### THE FRONTISPIECE

The Frontispiece is fol. 1208 of Harleian Manuscript 7368, best known as *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*. It has been one of the treasures of the British Museum since 1871, when Richard Simpson inquired whether passages in it might not be in the hand of William Shakespeare (the Museum had acquired the manuscript in 1753). Three pages of the manuscript, and possibly some scattered lines, are now generally thought to be in Shakespeare's handwriting. That selected for reproduction is the most legible of the three. The most recent and succinct account is that of Professor R. C. Bald of the University of Chicago in *Shakespeare Survey*, 2, pp. 44-65.

#### CONTRIBUTORS TO JULY 1953 *SHAKESPEARE QUARTERLY*

1. Harry R. Hoppe, Department of English, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan, 50 extra offprints.
2. Warren D. Smith, Department of English, University of Rhode Island, Kingston, Rhode Island, 100 extra offprints.
3. R. H. Bowers, University of Florida Library, Gainesville, Florida, no extra.
4. John Arthos, 1124 Birk Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 50 extra offprints.
5. Lucyle Hook, 200 W. 108th Street, New York City, 25 extra offprints.
6. Charlton Hinman, Box 506, Route 6, Alexandria, Virginia, 25 extra offprints.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS

Pope, Theobald, Malone—Most readers of Shakespeare are familiar with these and other names of the men who have edited the plays. But how much is known about the financial arrangements they made with their publishers or with artists and illustrators? And how did the copyrights of the plays change hands? The reproductions in this issue of manuscript and printed materials chosen from the collection in the Folger Shakespeare Library throw light on some of these subjects and tell a part of the story of how Shakespeare's works have from time to time been put in print.

## Shakespeare Clubs and Study Groups

THE SHAKESPEARE CLASS OF SMITHFIELD, VIRGINIA, has an unbroken record of activity since its organization in 1905. Membership, which is limited to twenty, is much coveted, especially by the daughters of the charter members. The Class meets every Thursday, except in the summer months, in the homes of members. The attractively printed program for 1952-1953 indicates the regular use of *Shakespeare Quarterly* and a close study of *Julius Caesar*, *Richard II*, *Much Ado*, and related subjects. The officers are Mrs. Hugh Warren, President; Mrs. J. Craig Nelson, Vice President; Mrs. F. M. Barrett, II, Secretary-Treasurer; Mrs. W. M. Cobb, Publicity Chairman; and Mrs. E. H. Cofer, Member-at-Large. The Program Committee consists of Mrs. G. F. Whitley, Jr., Mrs. J. M. Chapman, and Mrs. H. G. Dashiell.

Congratulations are extended to the MANCHESTER SHAKESPEARE CLUB OF MANCHESTER, NEW HAMPSHIRE, which is now in its eightieth year. The handbook for 1953-1954 lists some thirty members and announces the programs for the twelve scheduled meetings. Half of them are based upon *Othello* and half upon *Measure for Measure*. The officers are: President, Mrs. D. H. Morrison; Vice President, Mrs. J. W. Cuthbert; and Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. A. M. C. Castor. Mrs. C. T. C. Davis, Mrs. C. C. Austin, and Mrs. J. W. Wiggin comprise the Executive Committee.

It does not appear that there is an organized Shakespeare group at Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas, but the report filed by Miss Anna M. Sturmer discloses the fact that there is more than classroom interest in Shakespeare. Since April 24, 1930, the poet's birth has been celebrated on a grand scale. On that first occasion, President Farrell acted as master of ceremonies. The college trio sang Shakespeare songs, the string quartette offered musical selections, an actor read a soliloquy from *Hamlet*, and two members of the faculty presented a scene from *Romeo and Juliet*. All this followed an elaborate dinner. Then came a discussion of current Shakespearian controversies, Shakespeare scholars in America, Shakespearian actors, and the influence of Shakespeare in the early life of America. The pattern has been repeated each year, with more people seeking admission than can ever be accommodated. Each year the topics of discussion vary so as to reflect current interests. Participation is not limited to faculty and students; townsmen also attend. All this implies a widespread enjoyment of Shakespeare—and the existence of a smoothly functioning organization. Other groups and communities may well desire to know the secret of the success at Kansas State.

The annual dinner of the SHAKESPEARE CLUB OF NEW YORK CITY was held this year on April 26 at the National Arts Club, with the President, the Hon. Francis X. Giaconne in the chair, assisted by Dr. John H. H. Lyon, Honorary President. As predicted in the program, Hiram Sherman as Master of Cere-

monies, proved to be "A marvellous witty fellow, I assure you." Dina Soresang brilliantly sang several arias from Shakespearian productions, and Mary Hutchinson gave vivid interpretations of several of the poet's heroines. The fourth annual awards of the Society for meritorious service were presented to John Gielgud (now Sir John Gielgud), the distinguished actor and producer, and James G. McManaway, Editor of *Shakespeare Quarterly*. The dinner was well attended, as usual, but there was not the usual gaiety for one face was absent, that of Arthur Heine, recently deceased, whose long-time services to the Club need no retelling.

## Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., was held on May 6, 1953, at the Grolier Club, 47 East 60th Street, New York, New York. Fourteen members were present, and two hundred and seventy-five were represented by proxy.

Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., President, conducted the meeting. Mr. Frederick B. Adams, Jr., acted as Secretary pro tem. The report on membership indicated that although the rate of growth had been less rapid than hoped for, there had been an increase in foreign memberships and in the number of libraries enrolled.

The Auditing Committee, headed by Mr. Adams, presented their report, which was accepted as read. The Treasurer's report showed that income had not yet equalled expenses and that only through special gifts had the Association continued solvent.

Special recognition was given to the work of Mrs. Donald F. Hyde in collecting information about theatrical performances of Shakespeare and to Dr. Sidney Thomas and his colleagues for the compilation of the Annual Shakespeare Bibliography. Attention was directed to the heavy indebtedness of the Association to the members of the Editorial Board and the Advisory Board, and also to the ever larger group of unnamed specialists for reading manuscripts and assisting in the other labors incident to the publication of *Shakespeare Quarterly*.

The President thanked Dr. Hastings and all the members of the Advisory Board for their work. Then he recorded formally the deaths of two of the Association's most ardent supporters, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach and Mr. Arthur Heine, and expressed the Association's sense of loss.

Mr. Houghton spoke of the importance of increasing the membership of the Association. There are, he said, other worthy projects which might be undertaken in addition to publishing the *Quarterly*, but these must be deferred until the membership can be substantially enlarged.

The report of the Nominating Committee, of which Mr. Frederick B. Adams, Jr., was Chairman, was unanimously accepted, and Messrs. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., Donald F. Hyde, John F. Fleming, Frederick B. Adams, Jr., and James G. McManaway were re-elected the Directors of the Association.

At the Directors' Meeting, which followed the adjournment of the Annual Meeting, the officers were unanimously re-elected and also the Chairmen of the Editorial Board and the Advisory Board. Upon the recommendation of the Advisory Board, it was decided to reconstitute that body on the basis of future appointments for a three-year term. Professors Alfred Harbage and Arthur Colby Sprague and Miss Rosamund Gilder were selected to replace Professors John W. Draper and George C. Taylor and Mr. Arthur Heine; and B. Iden Payne was added to increase the membership to twenty-one.

## Contributors

JOHN ARTHOS, Associate Professor of English at the University of Michigan, is author of *The Language of Natural Description in Eighteenth Century Poetry*. Another volume, a study of *Comus*, will shortly come from press.

A Teaching Fellow at Harvard, SYLVAN BARNET professes that his chief interest is the drama, with particular emphasis on tragedy and the Romantic criticism of Shakespeare.

Professor FRED BERGMANN, of DePauw University, is a specialist in eighteenth-century drama. He is at present engaged in a study of David Garrick's alterations of Jacobean and Restoration plays.

R. H. BOWERS, of the University of Florida, has been a frequent contributor to *Shakespeare Quarterly*.

Professor HENNIG COHEN combines scholarship and journalism in his work in the Office of Public Relations at the University of South Carolina.

Best known as the author of *Shakespeare's Prose*, Dr. MILTON S. CRANE also combines reviewing and miscellaneous editorial work with scholarship. At present he is on leave from the University of Chicago on government service in Washington, D. C.

Professor MARK ECCLES, of the University of Wisconsin, who has in preparation a volume of the New Variorum Shakespeare, is an indefatigable researcher in Elizabethan biography.

Dr. PAUL ELMEN is Instructor in English at Northwestern University.

A Fellow of the Shakespeare Institute at Stratford-upon-Avon, R. A. FOAKES is also Secretary of *Shakespeare Survey* and of the Shakespeare Conference. He is mainly occupied at the moment in preparing the New Arden Edition of *Henry VIII*.

NORTHROP FRYE is Professor of English and Chairman of the Department at Victoria College, University of Toronto. Several years ago he published *Fearful Symmetry, A Study of William Blake*. At present he is writing a book on poetic theory, and when that is done he hopes to do a study in Shakespearean comedy.

Author of several theatrical criticisms that have appeared in *Shakespeare Quarterly* and of *Pageantry on the Shakespearean Stage*, that was reviewed in these pages two or three years ago, ALICE V. GRIFFIN will be more readily recognized under her maiden name, Alice Venezky. Advance copies of her latest book, *Living Theatre*, are already in circulation.

Dr. CHARLTON HINMAN, the scholar-inventor, has divided his time since the beginning of World War II between scholarship and service in the United States Navy. His collating machine is spoken of with awe and envy by bibliographers.

There have been many publications on the social impact of women upon the stage in Restoration England, but their importance in shaping a new kind of drama is the discovery of Professor LUCYLE HOOK, of Barnard College. Another of her interests is the influence of certain actresses on the song writing of the time.

Professor HARRY R. HOPPE, of Michigan State College, is one of the authorities on the text of *Romeo and Juliet*. Recently he has been studying the book trade in the Low Countries.

After several years of editorial work on *PMLA*, SAMUEL F. JOHNSON has devoted himself to instruction in the Department of English of New York University.

Dean CLIFFORD P. LYONS, of the University of North Carolina, began as a Chaucerian. Now such time as can be spared from administrative duties is given to professing Shakespeare.

Professor CECIL COWDEN SERONSY is Professor of English at the Bloomsburg (Pa.) State Teachers' College. His doctoral thesis was on Samuel Daniel, and he has published articles in many of the English journals.

PAUL N. SIEGEL, Professor of English at Ripon College, has been on leave of absence for a year on a Ford Foundation Fellowship to study the history of the Renaissance. He has in manuscript a recently completed book that considers Shakespeare's plays against the Elizabethan social and intellectual background.

WARREN DALE SMITH is Professor of English at the University of Rhode Island, Kingston, Rhode Island.

One of the faithful supporters of *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin* and *Shakespeare Quarterly*, J. DUNCAN SPAETH, Emeritus Professor of Princeton, comes out of retirement once more to review a book. Many of his retired hours are given to reviewing for the Philadelphia papers and conducting adult education courses in Shakespeare.

The performances referred to by Professor ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE, of Bryn Mawr College, in his review were witnessed during the year of study he spent in Europe as a Fulbright Fellow.

ROGER J. TRIENENS, formerly a graduate student at the University of Michigan, is now a member of the staff of the Free Library of Philadelphia.



